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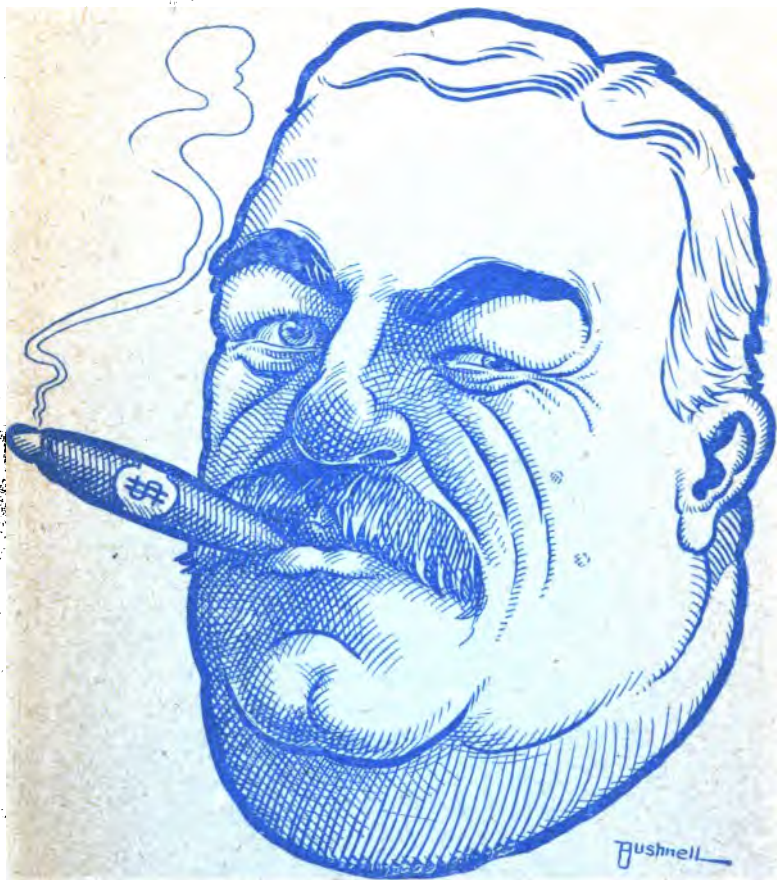
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BOSSISM IN CINCINNATI

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"THE BOSS"

By HENRY C. WRIGHT

FOREWORD.

Many people who read this book will want to know something of its author. We gladly give some of the facts concerning his life and his qualifications for presenting the subject.

Henry C. Wright was born in LeRoy, Ohio, in 1868. He graduated at the Ohio Wesleyan University with the degree of A. B. in 1892. He continued his special studies along the line of sociology in Germany a portion of the year 1905. In 1896 he graduated from Harvard University with the degree of B. D. He was associated with the work of the People's Church, St. Paul, Minn., in 1896 and 1897. In 1900 he graduated from Boston University with the degree of Ph. D. He had charge of the Union Bethel, a Mission and Social Settlement Institution in Cincinnati, from 1900 to 1903. His whole training has been with the purpose of doing practical social work. His voice and counsel have been frequently heard in the National Conference of Charities and Correction and in the National Municipal League.

He is in no sense of the word a theorist, but is practical in every detail of his work. When in charge of the Union Bethel he had a special opportunity to study the working of the political machine in Cincinnati. In 1903 when the independent campaign was inaugurated in Cincinnati to oppose Geo. B. Cox he was one of the practical workers in it. At the close of that campaign he was chosen as Secretary of the Citizen's Municipal League and has been its Secretary from 1903 to 1905.

The Cincinnati Post, the only great daily paper of Cincinnati, according to Lincoln Steffens, which is not influenced by George B. Cox, says of the book :

"Mr. Wright has written an account of the Cincinnati gang that ought to stir the people of Ohio. The great force of his work lies in its accuracy and candor of statement."

The cloth-bound copy of this book, containing three extra chapters on municipal reform movements and illustrations, is for sale by the Cincinnati News Company, at Cincinnati, for \$1.00, in paper, at 50 cents.

OHIO ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE.

Bossism in Cincinnati

By
HENRY C. WRIGHT



CINCINNATI, OHIO

1905

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PREFACE.

THIS book gives a brief history of the rise of Bossism in Cincinnati, a description of the operation of the present machine, an account of the Citizens' Municipal Party which is attempting to break it down, some of the conditions that municipal reform movements would meet in any city, and a description of some of the typical movements.

Two classes of readers have been kept in mind; those in Cincinnati who would understand and welcome details, and those interested in municipal problems not in Cincinnati, who might welcome a more general treatment. The attempt has been to make the book of profit to both classes. Cincinnati having one of the most complete political machines in the United States, and a Boss who is an absolute dictator, should be of interest to all who are studying city betterment. The description of this machine will answer fairly well for all city machines. They are operated much the same. A description of how one machine has developed, may help some other city to guard against conditions which might make one possible for it. Typical movements in other cities should be suggestive to those contemplating a local fight.

Cincinnati, June 1, 1905.

H. C. W.

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Bossism in Cincinnati.



CHAPTER I.

1870-1885.

COX AS A WARD EXECUTIVE.

THE people in the vicinity of West Sixth street in the early seventies were accustomed to have a market wagon stop at their door driven by a bright-eyed boy. None of those people were prophets, nor did few of them see in this boy anything of such marked note as to distinguish him from other market boys who brought them their daily supplies. Possibly had they known him intimately they could have seen no predominant characteristics, except perseverance and a fair degree of care in bringing the vegetables that had been ordered the day before. Nor did this boy become distinguished from other boys for many years afterwards. To-day, however, the one time driver of the market wagon is the driver of the city of Cincinnati. His name is George Barnsdale Cox. He holds the reins and when he uses the whip his creatures move rapidly.

From the market wagon the boy Cox advanced to a tobacco wagon, and then to a part owner of a saloon situated at Longworth street and Central avenue, a place known as Dead Man's Corner. This was in 1874 when he was twenty years of age. His saloon was of the common sort, which combined with the sale of liquor, various gambling games. The gambling brought many customers from the vicinity. This extended range of acquaintances he used later to good advantage. As a bartender for him he had a Frank Kelly, who had lived for a time in Philadelphia and had taken a hand in the type of politics they had developed there. Whether or not Kelly incited in Cox an ambition to become a political leader is not known. At any rate, he began to use the influence that his saloon and gambling patrons gave. Power was not gained fast, however, for in 1879 he was able to control but half of his ward, the 18th.

About this time he found himself molested too frequently, for peace of mind, by the police. On asking some of his friends what he could do, advice was given to get elected to Council and his troubles would cease. Acting upon this suggestion, he sought the nomination and was elected in '79. This solved his difficulties and at the same time gave him greater power.

The period from 1870 to 1880 was not a time propitious for the development of corrupt politics. The city was controlled by the stronger and more respected men. It was the most marked period of Cincinnati's unfolding; not a marvelous growth in population, but a period of the outward expression of the best that was in the people.

As a marked force in bettering conditions was the

Committee of Safety, organized in 1873. About twenty-five of the leading men of the city constituted themselves a committee to safe-guard the city's interests, not as a political organization, but rather as a protective league. They employed John M. Pattison as their agent and attorney, who brought many actions to restrain public officials from the extravagant use of funds. Also he drew and presented to the Legislature several important bills. One of the laws secured was the institution of the Board of Public Works in Cincinnati, which safeguarded, in a marked way, expenditures, and facilitated administration. Several other laws of especial worth are attributable to the influence of this committee. Its restraining and stimulating force was perceptible for many years.

In 1870 there were in the corporate limits of Cincinnati, 216,239 people; of this number 49,488 were Germans, and 18,624 were Irish. The Germans asked only for a privilege to work and live in domestic peace. These conditions being assured, they gave little heed to civic conditions. Politics are said to be inborn in an Irishman, but at this time, in Cincinnati, he had not shown in any distressing degree this aptitude. The city, not in name only, but in reality, was governed by the native Americans, who had at heart the welfare of the city.

It was in this decade that the Industrial Expositions were held yearly, with such marked success and profit to the city's trade. During the decade the Southern Railroad was being built, and in 1880 the first through passenger train was run to Chattanooga. Nor were the people blinded by material success, for in '72 the Musical Festivals were begun under the direction

of Theodore Thomas, which has given Cincinnati a world wide reputation as musical center. To give this impulse a greater chance to develop and succeed, Rueben R. Springer contributed \$225,000 toward the erection of a building where such festival could be held—the structure known as Music Hall.

Nor was music the only form of art which found a renewed expression. The Tyler Davidson Fountain was donated by Henry Probasco. The McMicken School of Design was founded, and the Art Museum started. Landscape art was given prominence by the laying out of Eden Park.

At a time when the people of a city are giving expression to this higher form of life, corrupt politics has little chance of success. The people are giving instead of taking. They are seeking an outward rather than inward satisfaction. It is a period of altruism, and greed is frowned upon. Since corrupt politics thrives only when this selfishness of the business world fosters it, it is not likely to flourish in a period such as Cincinnati experienced between 1870 and 1880.

By '80 a different spirit is beginning to be noticeable. Public gifts of any note were not made in the following decade, and corruption became a distinguishing feature of politics.

As the newspapers play such an important part in forming public opinion, it is well to briefly review the attitude of the press at this time. The *Enquirer* continued the same course it had for many years before and has since, a policy of giving news and strongly supporting Democracy when there was anything to be gained by it, otherwise it was non-committal. When illegal voting was so flagrant, and chiefly by the Demo-

crats, it had no words of condemnation. Nor did it attack any wrong except from a partisan standpoint. Its editor, John R. McLean, was cognizant, and probably an accomplice, in the various forms of illegally increasing the number of Democratic votes. The *Commercial* was edited by Murat Halstead and was rabidly Republican, though inclined to recognize, with some degree of forgiveness, the different attempts at reform. Its blind eye was turned toward wrongs in the Republican ranks. The *Gazette* stood for righteousness and condemned political trickery, even in its Republican friends, but it consolidated with the *Commercial* in '83, and its voice was absorbed in that of Halstead. The *Times* and *Star* united in '80, and was under the management of Charles P. Taft. As a Republican sheet it was clean and stood for the best in the city, at times fighting strenuously against the method of the gang. The *Post* began its career in the early eighties, but was not much of an influence in politics until toward the latter part of the decade. It was independent and always condemned wrong doing, wherever found.

The Republican Convention held March 27, 1880, for the nomination of city officers, evidently was not controlled by any one clique, as it took four ballots to choose the twelve candidates of the Board of Education. And what is still more refreshing, the field was sufficiently open that 54 names were sent up to the clerk and were ballotted upon to select the 12 candidates.

The only mention of special leaders in the convention comes from the *Enquirer*, which speaks of Henry Kessler and Amor Smith. Kessler was the father-in-

law of Smith, and had been quite an influence in politics; though he had quite a following, yet in no sense did he control conditions. At no time did he have greater power than did Smith, who later controlled, at most, the votes of perhaps five wards. Though not mentioned in the *Enquirer* accusation, yet Geo. Moerlein had become a factor at this time, and by his brewing and saloon interests controlled four or five wards. At this period none of the papers mention the name of Cox. His power was still confined to the eighteenth ward, though by '84 it had extended considerably beyond it.

In the seventies there seemed to have been free and open conventions, with a fair chance for all would-be candidates. In the convention of 1880, Moerlein supported Wm. Boettger for city treasurer, against Samuel Nieman, who was seeking the nomination. Boettger was nominated, and the general talk at the time was that money had been used to secure the nomination.

This is the first instance of the buying of convention nominations, which became a very general practice within the next five years. It was the development of this practice which first gave Cox an entrance into wards outside of his own. By '82 Cox completely controlled his own ward so that he could vote his twelve delegates solid for any man. In the convention it was found that when Cox gave his word, that for a stipulated sum, he would deliver his twelve delegates for a man, he kept his word. This was more than many other ward leaders did, for they not infrequently sold their votes to two opposing candidates, and in addition pocketed the money and the delegates failed

to get their share of the plunder. This naturally caused revolt among the delegates, and the next time they had a chance to barter their vote they wanted the money put in the hands of some one who would deliver it to them after the convention. Inasmuch as Cox got the reputation of keeping his word, delegates from some of the other wards made the stipulation that the price of their vote should be deposited with Cox. It is thus easy to see how it was possible for Cox to form a pooling alliance with a few other wards for the purpose of getting the highest price possible for their combined vote.

By '82 it was difficult for a respectable citizen to secure a nomination. The alternative confronted him of either going from precinct to precinct, before the convention, and "drink with the boys," carrying an open pocketbook, or else barter with the various ward leaders in the convention. This condition of affairs was equally true in both the Republican and Democratic parties; though the most open corruption was undoubtedly in the Democratic conventions. The Highland House Convention became a byword for corruption. It was at this convention that delegates were chosen who, later at Columbus, deposed Senator Geo. H. Pendleton and nominated Henry B. Payne.

Many of the men elected to office, feeling that they had paid a high price for the privilege of drawing a small salary, schemed in various ways to secure something on the side. Not only were legitimate measures held up in council until members were given a compensation for their votes, but hold-up measures were manufactured and introduced as a means of blackmail. In '83 a resolution was introduced in council to per-

mit the Equitable Gas Company to submit to the vote of the people an application for a franchise to furnish gas at \$1.40 per thousand feet. During the discussion member Carr stigmatized this as a blackmailing scheme of a ring of twenty-six members, who had combined for just such purposes. Council at this time contained fifty members. It is hardly likely the accusation was true as to the number, but it indicates that corruption was rampant in council.

This condition of affairs in the conventions and in the conduct of city offices called forth a general protest. The better men felt that something must be done to purify the nominating functions else the city would soon be controlled entirely by corrupt officials.

On December 26, 1882, a call was issued over the signatures of forty-five of the leading citizens of the city to join an association which they had formed called the Municipal Reform Association. The purpose of the association was set forth in an address which was mailed to interested citizens. Accompanying the address was the constitution and list of officers. The association established headquarters in the Enterprise Insurance Building, 82 West Third Street, and held frequent meetings of the Executive Committee. The candidates of the two parties were fully discussed, and they were indorsed or rejected, according to their record and general qualifications. When their ticket was made up, of the general officers it contained but one independent nomination, which was Alexander Paddock for Judge of Police Court. They made no recommendation for mayor, as both nominees of the old parties were equally good. For judges of the Superior Court they indorsed Judson Harmon, a Demo-

crat, and Wm. Worthington, a Republican; for city comptroller, E. O. Shelby; treasurer, Geo. L. Hearn-court; solicitor, J. Don Macaneule; judge of Police Court, Alexander Paddock; prosecuting attorney of Police Court, Jno. A. Caldwell. For member of council they indorsed six Republicans, eight democrats, and nominated eleven independents. The other officers were likewise divided between the two parties.

Just before the election they sent out 100,000 circulars urging the voters to be independent, and set forth the reasons for the indorsement of each man on the ticket. The night before the election 100,000 tickets were distributed.

In a retrospect printed by the association in the *Commercial-Gazette* just after the election, they claimed that a majority of the indorsements were elected, and that three of the men owed their election directly to the association. This, they felt, was a decided victory, especially as they had but eight of the sixty precincts organized. For the one independent candidate on the general ticket there were cast 1,422 votes. This number, though small, was nearly enough to turn the election, for at that time from 2,500 to 3,000 was a balance of power, so nearly equal were the two parties in number of votes.

The following spring of '84 the association found all the nominations of the two parties so bad that they put up an entirely independent ticket. On this ticket for Superior Court Judge was Lawrence Maxwell. The circular which they sent to the voters was very brief, consisting of the following: "The Municipal Reform Association presents to the honest voters of Cincinnati a clean ticket. To purify the city government

it must be lifted out of party politics. Ring rule can only be broken by a strong united effort on the part of those who have no personal or selfish aims. Will you help us to do this?" In the election Mr. Maxwell received 728 votes, which was about the average number.

The vote at the second election of the association was only about a half of that cast at the first election after its organization. Its efforts were not responded to either by members joining the association, or by the voters. The total number joining the association by paying one dollar was 423.

After these two attempts the association ceased to exist. It ceased not because its originators were not persistent and interested, but because the movement did not arouse a response on the part of the people. The voters would not leave their party though their own party candidates were utterly bad and the independent nomination good. Party ties were first, quality of men second. On questioning men who were most active and interested in the association, there was no other explanation of the death of the movement given, than lack of response on the part of the people. It was not demanded by the citizens so found no place.

A new movement had been gradually gaining headway among laboring men called Knights of Labor. The object of the association was primarily to improve the conditions of labor. The feeling, however, among the leaders at this time was that this object could not be accomplished simply by combination. They thought that political action was necessary and would most speedily bring about the amelioration of the labor situation. The numbers joining the associa-

tion grew rapidly, so that by '84 it decided to enter the political field, and met in Arbiter Hall and prepared for an election. Results, however, were small at this time, but the effort gave experience and encouragement for a future campaign, which reached its climax in 1887.

A condition of affairs resulting from corrupt municipal rule during the two Democratic mayoralty terms of Wm. Means and Thos. J. Stephens, reached its climax in the riot of March 28, 1884. For years the courts had been lax. The dismissal of criminals without findings, or at most a light sentence, had produced a reckless spirit in the community, which manifested itself in an astonishing number of murders and other atrocious deeds. Apparently little impression was made upon the court by the murder of a family on the outskirts of the city, which was done solely for the purpose of selling the bodies to medical schools. The crime which stirred the public to a feverish heat of indignation was the killing of a stableman, Wm. Kirk, by two of his employes, for the sake of securing a small sum of money which he carried. The murderers, William Berner, a young German, and Joseph Palmer, a mulatto, were arrested with conclusive evidence of guilt. Tom Campbell, a noted criminal lawyer and a Republican ring leader, was counsel for the men. He had secured the release of many other evidently guilty men, and it was expected he would accomplish the same result with these. After some delay Berner was tried, and though the evidence pointed clearly to a pre-meditated murder, he was let off with a twenty-year sentence. This was the last straw for the public. An indignation meeting was called at Music Hall,

Speeches were made and resolutions were passed condemning the courts and calling for reform. The hoodlum element of the audience, on adjournment, went to the jail, and, battering down the doors, sought for Berner with the intention of lynching him; not finding him, because he had been taken to Columbus, they proceeded to wreak vengeance by smashing the windows and furniture of the jail. In the meantime the local militia had arrived by an underground entrance from the court house, and began firing on the mob. This increased their fury, and they now sought to avenge the death of their comrades. On the following day more state militia arrived from other cities. That night the court house was burned, during which the soldiers killed many of the rioters. By Sunday night the militia had the situation well in hand, and the mob scattered to their homes. Forty-five were killed and about one hundred and fifty were wounded.

It was like all mobs, senseless, irrational, and led by the rougher element of the city. Yet it must be said that though the measures adopted were condemned, yet the objects sought found general approval among a large number of the better citizens of the city. It was the final fit of anger expressed by an outraged people—an anger which ought to have expended itself at the polls and thwarted the growing corruptions. But it had not done so, and now it suffered the penalty of its neglect.

It is easy enough to pass this criticism, but it was a much harder problem to secure reform by the ballot in those days than at present. There was no law requiring the registration of voters, and ballots were printed and distributed by ward committees. Besides

this, wards which were nearly as large as at present were divided into but two precincts, which made it almost impossible to know all the voters of a precinct, and owing to the large number of votes to be cast the election was carried into the evening and the count frequently lasted through the night. This condition of affairs made a great variety of frauds possible, which the average citizen was almost powerless to thwart.

The officers of election were three judges, two from one party and one from the other and were chosen by the group of voters assembled at the polling place at the hour of opening. In order to select a set of conniving judges all that was needed was to have a gang of henchmen on hand to do the voting. Besides, the two judges from one party could always outvote the other men in case of a challenge. This made it easy to use as many repeaters as the occasion seemed to require. If a miscalculation had been made in the number needed, more ballots could be inserted in the box at the time of counting, as was frequently done.

By having the ballots printed by the ward committees, it made it possible to falsify the ticket. Occasionally there was printed what was called an "Except Ticket." When the Democrats were working against some one man on the Republican ticket, as for an instance, the mayor, they would print ballots with the heading Republican in bold letters, and beneath this in very small type would put the words "except mayor," and then insert the name of the Democratic nominee for that position. Inasmuch as these ballots could be handled and distributed by any one it made it easy to put them into the hands of an ignorant voter of the opposite party. In order that the ballots of each

voter should be seen by the party workers before they were deposited, there was provided a gang plank with side rails just wide enough for one file of men, which led from the street up to the balloting place. Along this plank on both sides the party workers would be ranged, and demand of each voter that he show his ballot as he passed up the plank. In this way many of the falsified ballots were weeded out. But not infrequently the workers of one party would combine and occupy all the space along both sides of the gang plank so that the other party workers would have no chance to examine the ballot to be deposited. This gave unlimited license to the controlling gang.

Repeating was done openly. At one election a wagon full of repeaters drove from one precinct to another with no pretense of concealing the fact that they had come in a body from outside of the ward.

A citizen recently gave the following as his experience as a Republican judge at a precinct in the bottoms: "I arrived at the polling place possibly a half hour before the polls were to open and found a good sized group of apparent toughs collected. After a little inquiry I found there were some Republicans in the crowd, and when the officers of the election were chosen, on the opening of the polls, I was one of them. I was very sure on several occasions I saw men come in to vote who had cast their ballot, and some of these I challenged, but each time the Democratic judges insisted it was their first and only vote. In the evening when we began to count the ballots the rowdies crowded into the room until it was completely filled. One of the Democratic judges had the ballot-box on a chair in front of him and was taking the ballots out

one by one. Occasionally I saw him drop a ballot on the floor and called his attention to the matter, and with an oath he called me a liar. When I looked for the ballots which he had dropped they were gone. Some one standing behind his chair had made way with them. The next time he dropped one I immediately called his attention to it and said, I know you did it. There it is on the floor. Suddenly a scuffle began in the crowd. They jammed against the table tipped over our chairs and the table. I went sprawling on the floor. At the same time the light went out. Soon the light was relighted. But what had been done to the ballot-box in the meantime I could not tell. There might have been, and probably were, many ballots taken out and others put in." This was by no means an uncommon experience.

The *Commercial-Tribune* gives the following account on April 7, 1885: "At 12 M. yesterday about 850 votes had been cast in the H precinct of the Sixth ward. At 1.45 P. M. the ballot-box registered 1,275, showing that the Democratic ballot-box stuffers did not take any nooning. Repeaters had been at work here all day, but they reached almost a climax of fraud. A *Commercial-Gazette* reporter was present at the precinct from about 1.15 P. M. to 1.45 P. M. He had heard a good deal about Sixth ward methods, but what he had heard was virtue compared with what he saw yesterday. Young boys, half grown, downey-faced saplings, ranging anywhere below eighteen years, voted in troops, to the great amusement of the ordinary Democrat. At last a colored Republican ventured to challenge one of them, when the gang of older toughs set upon him, dragged him into the street and beat him

shamefully. Then the voting began, and in fifteen minutes 124 votes slipped into the box. The reappearance of the same faces at last became monotonous even to the Democratic challengers and judges, and they refused to receive the votes, saying, "Hold up a while, boys; that's enough just now."

A man who has always taken a part in the politics of the city as an independent and labor party man told this experience. "In the Amor Smith election of 1885, I went over to the Four's engine-house on Sycamore Street where they were voting. While standing there watching the proceedings, I noticed that there was a gang of about fifteen men who were making a circuit up and down, up and down, the gang plank to the ballot box, voting each time. The Republican challenger was a negro, and when he went to his lunch he left a substitute. Shortly afterwards a patrol wagon drew up in front of the engine-house, loaded the darkey in and took him to Hammond Street Police Station for safe keeping. While standing there a man in the crowd noticed a voter going up the plank whom he had seen voting at least once before. He called to him the attention of a police who was standing by the railing. The officer replied, 'What the hell of a difference does it make to you,' and at the same time gave him a push. The hoodlums about the polls then took after the informant, chasing him up the street until he found refuge in a machine shop, where they kept him prisoner for some time. I followed the gang of repeaters down to Third and Pike Streets, and there they went through the same operations of duplicating votes."

It was at this time that Mike Mullen, inspector of police, loaded every darkey he could find into the patrol

wagon and hauled him to Hammond Street Station, where he locked him up for the day, thus making it certain that he did not vote. It was not merely the bad negroes, but all he could lay hands on. Wm. G. Caldwell had a negro working for him with whom he entrusted the keys to his store. On arriving at his store in the morning of election he was surprised to find it still locked. Some one suggested to him that he might possibly find his man and his keys at the police station. On arriving there he inquired for his man, but was told he was not there. By chance his bunch of keys happened to be lying on the desk, which fact he made known to the sergeant. This proved the fact that his negro was shut up there. It was on Mr. Caldwell's complaint that an investigation was made, and as a result Mike Mullen was sent to jail for a year. It was only a nominal imprisonment, as he was at liberty much of the time.

This gives a fair idea of the general nature and prevalence of the illegal voting of the early eighties. It was open and went almost unchallenged, because both parties were participating in it. The people in general did not seem to be greatly wrought up over it, since they clung to the old parties with little show of remonstrance. It will be noted that the riot occurring on March 28th was just before the spring election. The people were deeply stirred. In addition the knowledge of the general illegal voting was broadcast. Yet at the election in April the Citizens' Ticket received but about 800 votes. The people were moved, but not moved to break away from the old parties as a remedy for the evils.

The development of the power of Cox was not

marked in this period up to 1885. In 1879 he was elected to the council, then was appointed as a member of the Board of Equalization. While in this office he first tasted blood; his share of the plunder was reported to be about \$20,000. This made him ravenous for more—an appetite which has never subsequently become dulled. Again in 1882 he became a member of council. No mention is made of him in the newspapers, indicating that his power was very limited. He may have controlled, in a partial way, two or three wards. It was noticeable in the Republican convention of 1883, that the only ward whose vote was cast solid was Cox's ward eighteen. All the other ward delegates split more or less in voting.

The men who stood out most prominently at this time were Amor Smith, who controlled possibly five wards, and Geo. Moerlein, who could deliver most of the votes of perhaps four wards. In addition to these two men was Thos. W. Graydon, who did not directly control any wards, but was a very important go-between for the ward workers and the public service corporations. Jos. B. Foraker was beginning to appear above the horizon. In 1883 he ran for governor and was defeated by Hoadly by 12,529 in the State, and 2,531 in Hamilton county. Again in 1885 he ran against Hoadly, and was this time successful in securing in the State a plurality of 17,451—but lost Hamilton county by 446 votes. The details are given because they are part of the explanation of an appointment which he made later, which will be referred to.

From this point on Smith and Moerlein cease to gain power, and Foraker and Cox gradually gain ascendancy. Graydon remains an important factor until the early nineties.

CHAPTER II.

1885-1890.

COX'S FIRST RECOGNITION.

ON April 2, 1885, a bill was passed by the Democratic legislature creating a police commission for Cincinnati. The commission was to be appointed by the Board of Public Works, which was at that time Democratic. Evidently the hope was that by controlling the police force the Democrats would be enabled to stay in power in Cincinnati. The *Commercial-Gazette* could scarcely find language strong enough to express its condemnation of the law. In commenting upon it, it said: "The police bill for Cincinnati is in flagrant defiance of all the decencies, and is one of the most obtrusive and scandalous cases of insolent disregard of public propriety and popular rights ever known. The police commissioner way has been tried here and left a stench that is still rank. The infamous objects for which this outrage is committed are perfectly well known." Though the law put the police into the hands of the Democrats, yet they failed to carry the city in the spring election. Amor Smith was elected by over three thousand majority, "overcoming the most impudent, aggressive, energetic, and extensive frauds ever perpetrated at the polls in this city."

The frauds at the election reached a climax which

prompted action on the part of some of the better citizens. Harry R. Probasco gathered evidence which he presented with a petition to the Common Pleas Court. The petition read:

"To the Judges of the Common Pleas Court, within and for Hamilton County, Ohio.

"Your petitioners respectfully represent that they believe that the election laws of this State were, upon April 6th last past, grossly violated by a large number of lawless persons. Your petitioners further represent that owing to such outrages our property is in danger of depreciation or destruction, our lives at stake, and the reputation of our fair city suffers abroad.

"For this and other apparent reasons we humbly submit that in pursuance of law, you do assemble a special grand jury, to inquire into and examine all matters concerning the premises."

The petition was signed by 112 prominent citizens, irrespective of party. The Court thought a special grand jury not necessary and put the matter in the hands of Judge Robertson to call such a session if further evidence seemed to demand it. A special session was not called, and the cases were passed over. Later Harry Probasco published a list of about twenty illegal voters, with the number of witnesses against them. He was not sued for libel. It is interesting to note that nearly all of those repeaters now living have joined the Blaine Club, a Republican organization.

Whether with good or bad intent is not evident, the Democratic Legislature passed, on May 1, 1885, a Registration Law, a law which the people in different sections of the State had been advocating for several years. This law provided for the appointment by coun-

cil of two men, one from each party, to act as registration officials in each precinct. They were to hold sessions from 8 A. M. to 9 P. M., for five days beginning the third Thursday before each election. At that time the State election was in October. Again the officials held session on the Wednesday preceding election. They were to issue to each one registering a certificate, which he must present when coming to vote. No electioneering was permitted within one hundred feet of the polling place. A change was not made in the manner of printing the ballots.

Much was hoped for from this law. The *Commercial-Gazette*, in commenting on it, said: "The grip of the gang is gone, sure enough. The Republicans of the legislature, reinforced by the better class of Democrats, have passed a registry law that has been drawn with great care, and is, we hope, calculated to do a great deal of good."

Many of the good citizens thought the gross illegal voting was due chiefly to a lack of sufficient legal restriction, and that a registration law which provided that the name of every intending voter be published some time previous to the election, would do away with the frauds. Their hopes were, to a certain extent, well founded, as conditions gradually became better, but the change for the better was not strikingly evident at first. The certificate of registration was easily secured when there were conniving officers, so that all that was needed to prepare for a batch of illegal voters was to secure sufficient certificates before hand. These certificates in a measure became a voting legal tender. One man went to the Lincoln Club and offered to sell six which he had in his possession. The amount of

illegal voting was not noticeably diminished in the first election held after the passage of the law.

Though there was hope that the law would produce some good results, yet the fact that the courts could not be induced to handle the question of the frauds of the spring election, prompted a group of prominent men of both parties to consider means of securing an organized effort to prosecute such offenders.

In College Hall, on October 5, 1885, just before the fall State election, a movement was started for the apprehension and prevention of illegal voting. It was called The Committee of One Hundred. The temporary officers were I. J. Miller, president; William Christie Herron, secretary; Julius Dexter, treasurer. In the Executive Committee were W. P. Anderson, Milo G. Dodds, James W. Glenn, William H. Taft, now Secretary of State, and Frank J. Jones. They commenced operation at once. The first registration had taken place, and the names were carefully examined and certified as to the residences. As a result of the preliminary work the committee published a list of about two thousand names which they considered fraudulent, and should be watched at election time.

Immediately after the election, the committee formed a permanent organization, adopting in part as a constitution, the following:

"I. The name of the association shall be 'The Committee of One Hundred.'

"II. The object of the association is to secure public order, and protect the rights and interests of the people of the city of Cincinnati and the county of Hamilton; and to accomplish this object we propose: First, to aid in securing honest elections and maintaining the

purity of the ballot ; second, to prosecute and bring to punishment those who violate the election laws and those public officers who are guilty of maladministration and misappropriation of public funds.

"No measure of a partisan character shall be considered by the association, and no partisan test of membership shall be applied."

A membership of five dollars was charged and also an annual fee of the same amount for dues. They seemed to secure funds quite readily as a considerable amount was expended for detective services, legal fees and court charges. The legal work was in charge of Rufus B. Smith and he pushed it with vigor.

The publication of the names apparently had but little effect as the illegal voting was done by wholesale. One factor that increased the effort to swell the vote was the desire on the part of John R. McLean, of the *Enquirer*, to elect as many representatives as possible. Shortly after the election the committee found a man by the name of Jacob Baschang who made oath before a justice that he was asked to come to the office of McLean, who talked to him about carrying his precinct, and said: "If you turn your precinct Democratic for the representatives, I will give you upwards of two hundred dollars apiece (there were three of the men) and \$75 to buy votes, and if you need \$75 or a \$100 more, you can get it." This clearly connected McLean with the illegal voting, but no prosecution was brought against him.

Many warrants were sworn out, but it was discovered they were not served. The chief of police would not act. So charges were brought against him for contempt of Police Court, which, though it did not termi-

nate in a conviction, yet it increased the number of warrants served. Some convictions were secured, but most of the efforts of the committee were blocked by the courts or the grand jury.

The committee continued to operate for the next two years, and evidently reduced the openness and flagrancy of illegal voting.

The year of 1885 was marked by two events which have a bearing upon our subject. Foraker was elected governor of Ohio. In 1883 he was a candidate for the same office, but was defeated. Though he carried Ohio by a safe majority, he again lost Hamilton county by over 400. This fact that he lost his own county twice plays an important part in some of his future plans. Dr. Graydon was at this time a member of the Legislature. He and Foraker are credited with consulting together to devise some plan whereby Hamilton county could be swung into the Republican column, especially as Foraker was beginning to have national aspirations, and a notable weakness at home would militate against him. Graydon is said to have advised Foraker that the man who was coming to the front and gave most evidence of latent political power was George Cox. Cox had developed the faculty of managing delegates and had secured considerable voice in conventions. Beside, to give him greater political power would not make of him a rival in any sense, but only an agent. He had power to get votes for other people, but not for himself, which had become evident by his recent defeat for county clerk. He ran against Daniel J. Dalton, who defeated him by about 2,200 votes.

The scheme which Foraker and Graydon decided upon was this. Cox must be aided in his struggle for

power. To do this he must have more patronage at his disposal. At somebody's behest, quite likely Foraker's, an act was passed May 17, 1886, displacing in Cincinnati the Board of Public Works by a new board called the Board of Public Affairs. The former board was elected by the people. The later was appointed by the governor. This gave Foraker the chance that he wanted. A board was selected in Cincinnati to his liking. To a vacancy in this board he appointed Dr. Graydon. Now the machinery was in shape to furnish the aid to Cox which Foraker hoped he might have. The Board of Public Affairs had at its disposal from 1,200 to 2,000 jobs. These, as far as possible, were filled by Cox. By scattering the men discretely about the different wards, he was, within a short time, able to control many of the delegates from these wards. At the same time especial effort was put forward to secure the court house patronage, so as to scatter trustworthy job holders throughout the county.

Previous to this Cox had been gaining delegate by delegate slowly, and by 1885 he probably could not deliver the delegates' votes from more than five wards. At that time his power was equalled by that of Amor Smith and Geo. Moerlein, but the new patronage given him by Foraker, gave him a distinct advantage which he used with telling ability. His power now increased rapidly.

Two things happened in 1887 which were rather disturbing to a smooth development of boss power. The first was the election of Theodore Horstman as city solicitor. Horstman was an independent and fearless man, who gave judgments which protected the city rather than the franchise seeking corporations.

There was a contract with the Gas Company to furnish gas for city lighting at two-thirds of the lowest average rate in several specified cities. Horstman claimed the company was disregarding the contract. Suit was brought and afterwards carried to the Supreme Court and won. A saving of a great many thousands of dollars was thus secured for the city. On the part of Horstman, however, it was a move that the boss could not approve, and thereafter he was a man marked for retirement.

The second disturbing element was the phenomenal increase of power of the Union Labor party. This party, which had just showed itself in a weak way in 1884, now had become a threatening force. It nominated, in 1887, W. H. Stevenson for mayor. The Democrats would not support or fuse, so a three-cornered fight ensued. The count at the election showed the Labor party had polled about 17,000 votes; the Democrats about 11,000, and Amor Smith for the Republican party, about 900 more votes than the Labor party candidate. There were many at that time who believed that Stevenson was really elected, but was counted out. At 2 A. M., after the election, it was conceded at the Board of Election that Stevenson was elected by a safe majority. Some of the treacherous wards, however, had not reported. The following day the announcement was made that Smith, instead of Stevenson had been elected. At any rate, the election was very close and the very large vote by the Labor party gave Cox a set back that took him several years to overcome.

This was the end of the Knights of Labor as a political factor. The political phase of this movement

was not primarily a reform movement in the sense of trying to clean up the city and to put good men into office, regardless of party, though this result they hoped would follow their administration. The chief aim was to better labor conditions. After this defeat there came into power in the organization men who held that the objects of labor should be sought through the methods of combination, arbitration, and strikes, if necessary. The political aims should be dropped.

The movement has a considerable interest to one who is seeking for methods and causes. They had quite a complete organization in most wards and precincts, and seemed to have no especial difficulty in securing men who would work. They were strong where nearly all reform movements are weak. Having the masses, they had an abundance of men who did not consider it beneath them to take an active part in the work of organizing the wards and to work on election day. They had these men because they were not appealing for some abstract right or justice, but for some specific advantage that was to be derived by every working man, viz. : an increase in wages and a shortening of working hours. It was the same stimulus that a prospective city job is to a great many men. The reformer is weak in just this particular, that he has nothing tangible to offer the ordinary man. He tries to enthruse this hard working man by telling him that if good men are put in office the city will save money, we will have better streets, lights, street-car service, public institutions, parks, play grounds, etc., and he is greatly disappointed and surprised that the work-a-day man does not elate and enter with fervor the fight against grafting politicians. But he does not, and the

reformer is likely to grow weary and worn to effortless complaint while bemoaning the indifference of the common run of man to his best interest. The ground of success of such labor movements, as well as the methods of the practical politician, are very necessary studies to any would-be reformers.

In the issue of February 18, 1888, of the *Times-Star*, is found this editorial.

"Governor Foraker has appointed George B. Cox State Inspector of Oil. Mr. Cox deserves this appointment. At the last Presidential contest he developed high qualities as an organizer, and in every election since then he has devoted his time and powers with great success to bringing out the full Republican vote. The prejudice which existed against him in the party in former years, has been completely dispelled by his vigorous and able management of the Republican organization in this county since 1884."

The appointment of Cox to this position was no doubt in payment for services Cox had rendered Foraker. It was noted in former pages that when Foraker ran for governor in 1883 and 1885, he failed to carry Hamilton county. In 1887, however, he carried it by 6,693. This, no doubt, was largely due to the efforts of Cox. The new position required very little time, and though the salary was not large, it had "perquisites" which made it a very lucrative position when held by a person who knew how to manage it. Cox knew how. Besides the dignity of the position partially repaid Cox for the chagrin of his defeat for county clerk in 1885.

The pleasure with which the *Times-Star* commended Cox in 1888 for his splendid work in conven-

tions, was suddenly turned to anathemas. As from a clear sky, on March 11, 1889, that paper announced to the people that a secret political organization existed in the city that made the nominations within its body for city officers, previous to the convention, for every office that had patronage and control. The organization, by its constitution, was called the Loyal Republican League, but the *Times-Star* dubbed it "The Stranglers."* The constitution, by-laws, minutes, and list of members were printed. The membership was limited to 150, consisting of from one to eight from each ward. All held city, county, or state positions, ranging from a member of the legislature to a cart driver. There were some judges, constables, justices, sheriff, members from the different departments of the city—even school teachers. These men had banded themselves together to control all offices that had patronage to bestow. In all cases where possible these nominations were taken from the membership of the League. Whoever the nominee decided upon, the members were under solemn oath to work for him in conventions and at election. It can be readily seen that such an organization with members chosen for their political influence in each ward would have a tremendous power.

Soon after this exposure, the Republican convention was held and was commented on by the *Times-Star* as follows: "The Workmen's Hall affair was a disgrace, a scandal, an outrage. It was the mere ratification of a slate prepared in a Council of Stranglers and indorsed in a brewery." As the paper had a spy in the organization, no doubt its statement was the truth.

* See appendix for list of members.

The question was asked by everybody, is Cox a member of this League or behind it? He replied to that question thus: "I do not, nor never did belong. I have been invited over fifty times to become a member, but have always declined. It was organized about two years ago (1887) for the purpose of defeating the nomination of Amor Smith for mayor, and at that time I fought the order in his interest, and as a result he received the nomination and was elected. The club was then reorganized against me for taking the stand I did against it in the fight for Amor Smith, and for a long time no man, recognized as my friend, was admitted."

The *Times-Star* evidently did not believe Cox's statement, and it had good reasons, for something happened soon afterward which confirmed its doubt. This is what the reporter learned. "The Stranglers met at Ollie's place, Vine street, opposite Heuck's Opera-house. Cox was there. He made a speech and nearly all got drunk."

In another issue it has this to say: "Cox and the Loyal Republican League are practically one and the same thing. If this ticket goes through it means that the great Republican party is in the hands of an oath-bound crowd of political blood-suckers, and can not release itself from their grasp. . . . And the question is, will the Grand Old Party lie down before this band of conspirators?"

"He (Cox) stands for the Stranglers in our politics. He represents that hidden and noxious power that has in the past disgraced Cincinnati with many unworthy nominations and kept in fat places bad men."

Then it issues a call for a mass meeting to nomi-

nate an independent ticket, ending its appeal as follows: "Republicans of Cincinnati, come to the front! Throw off the collar of bossism! Repudiate Stranglers and their infamous methods! Let it now be demonstrated that the Republican party will not consent to be dragged in the mire."

An independent ticket was nominated, not by a separate Republican convention, but by a reform association.

It is almost past belief that a man who attacked Cox with such vigor and courage, should, within a year have nothing to say against him and shortly afterwards come out openly in his favor. Yet that is the record of the editor of the *Times-Star*.

Before the *Times-Star* made the above revelation, a group of citizens concluded to start a movement which they called the "Committee of Five Hundred." Its chief object, expressed in a resolution, was "that this meeting is profoundly impressed with the necessity of enforcing our Sunday laws, and especially the law closing saloons on that day, in order to secure the highest moral and material prosperity of our city." This apparently was the chief object of this movement, but they decided that the best method of procedure was not by resolutions and petitions, but by trying to elect as officers of the city, men who would enforce the laws. Accordingly it was decided to nominate a ticket for the election that was to occur in April. The ticket, as made out, included for mayor, Daniel Stone; comptroller, Edwin Stevens; Superior Court judge, E. F. Noyes. Six men who were employed to canvass the factories for signers to the movement, secured 1,005 signatures. One man was employed to organize the

wards. This part of the program evidently largely failed, as they dismissed the first campaign committee because they were not succeeding. As a means of campaigning they sent circulars through the mails, published material in the *Times-Star* and *Post*, and did such personal canvassing as their small force were able to do. In collecting money for the work they were more successful, obtaining over \$2,000.

The election was considerably disappointing, Mr. Stone receiving but 7,500 votes. After the election a permanent organization was effected, which exerted itself chiefly as a law and order league. Both in the spring of 1890 and 1891 it published in the daily papers the records of the candidates nominated by the two parties, but made no nominations of its own. As a direct political factor, the Committee of Five Hundred had little effect. Its platform did not appeal to the mass of the citizens.

In the fall of 1889, Cox received his second and last defeat as a candidate. No doubt his failure to secure the county clerkship in 1885 deeply chagrined him. He is not a man who takes defeat lightly. So in 1889 he concluded to try again for this same office. His opponent on the Democratic ticket was former Superintendent of Schools John B. Peaslee. Cox, no doubt, thought victory would be easy with such a foe, as Peaslee was not a politician. By this time Cox could elect almost any man he chose, but himself the people would not have. He went down under a defeat of 2,335 votes, though the rest of the ticket was elected.

Soon after this a fuel gas ordinance was introduced into council, backed by Moerlein. Cox co-operated with him. He went to each councilman that he thought

he could control and asked his support for the measure. He undoubtedly thought he had secured enough votes to insure its passage, as he told one man who had made up his mind to vote against it, that he had enough votes already. In some way his calculation miscarried, as the measure was lost by two votes. The support he secured for the measure, however, demonstrated his power and attracted the attention of Andrew Hickenlooper, President of the Gas Company. Thereafter Cox became the agent of Hickenlooper. The alliance was a distinct gain for Cox, as it meant more money, prestige, and adherents.

The following fall of 1890, the chief lieutenant of Moerlein, Valentine Heim, wanted to run for sheriff. Moerlein had been superior to Cox in power, and no doubt at this time considered himself not weaker, yet was glad to receive Cox's support for his candidate. After the election Cox demanded of Val Heim the privilege of naming his subordinate and office force, as a reward for his support. Val Heim hesitated and consulted Moerlein, who replied, "Tell Cox to go to h—. We will name them." This aroused Cox's ire and produced an open rupture between himself and Moerlein. A quarrel which he no doubt welcomed, as he felt that he had become strong enough to ignore and supplant Moerlein.

In this decade, from 1880 to 1890, Cox rose from a leader of his precinct to the strongest political power in the city. In the early eighties the only ward whose delegates voted as a unit was that of Cox. No one man had control of the conventions. The two men who wielded the largest influence were Amor Smith and Moerlein, neither one of whom, at any time, could de-

liver with certainty, the entire vote of any one ward. Smith controlled largely the federal workers, and Moerlein the German adherents, won through his brewing interests. Cox's first increase in power was obtained through the corrupt practise of selling the delegates' votes, and so combining these delegates as to act as a broker for them in securing buyers. Through following this method, by 1886 he had gained as much power as Smith or Moerlein, and attracted attention as a leader in conventions to be reckoned with. This demonstrated power attracted the attention of Governor Foraker, who bestowed upon him a great additional power by turning over to him the appointments of the Board of Public Works. The judicious placing of these jobholders enabled him to control many more delegates, so that his power surpassed that of Smith and Moerlein, which made him the chief leader.

CHAPTER III.

1890-

COX BECOMES BOSS.

THE election of James E. Campbell as governor of Ohio in 1889 was somewhat of a setback to Cox. A Democratic Board of Public Improvements replaced the Republican Board of Public Affairs. Though the Board was Democratic, fortunately for Cox it had some Democrats in it that he could use, and as a result the appointments of the Board were not as disastrous to gang rule as such a change in administration might be expected to bring about. This treachery, however, was short lived. Governor Campbell dismissed the Board with the brief explanation, "I believe you dishonest." A special session of the legislature was called on October 26, 1890, which provided for an elective Board to take control the following April. In the meantime, a Board appointed by the Republican mayor was to have charge.

The break with Moerlein over the patronage of the sheriff's office had not been patched up, and when the convention in the spring of 1891 was called, all looked forward to a lively battle. Cox dictated the nomination of all men on the ticket with the exception of Theodore Horstman for Corporation Counsel, and Rufus B. Smith for Judge of Superior Court. These nominations he

did not see fit, or could not successfully oppose. The chief test, however, came over the nomination for judge of the Police Court. Moerlein brought forward the name of Amos Dye and Cox opposed him with the name of Ellis B. Gregg. The contest was heated, but in the end Gregg was nominated. This was the final blow for Moerlein. He was defeated in an open show of strength—Cox was supreme. Soon after this Moerlein died, the last strong contestant for the laurels of a boss.

The election, however, was by no means encouraging to Cox. Mosby was elected by only a few hundred votes, while Horstman received a plurality of about 9,000. It was evident that the very man whose nomination Cox had opposed, pulled the ticket through. This evident popularity of Horstman was irritating to Cox. More especially because the people had not yet become accustomed to the idea of a boss and they found the ignoring of their voice in convention somewhat galling. There was an evident unrest which found expression, soon after Mosby's election, in a suggestion that Horstman should be placed in nomination at the following mayoralty election. Cox saw the danger of such a move, so he proceeded to checkmate it as early as possible. Systematically he began to pick off the adherents of Horstman by giving them public offices. This so effectually weakened his support that Horstman decided not to run. Opportunity was thus afforded the Cox organs to circulate the report that Horstman had been bought off; both foes, and some friends were inclined to believe it. This aroused his ire, and he determined to run independently and thus prove the story false. Accordingly, the more respon-

sible Democrats joined with the Republicans not yet under the yoke, to run him on a Citizens' ticket. The Democrats did not rightly estimate some of their more slippery brethren. Cox consulted with Joe Dowling, collector of internal revenues, also Dan Dalton, Tom Cogan, and Tom Shay, and by agreeing to give them a portion of the City Hall patronage, they entered into a plot with him to put up a regular Democratic ticket, and Isaac Miller was chosen to head it for mayor. Miller, without question, knew nothing about this deal, but thought he was doing the best thing for his party. He was to have a reward, however, should he fail to reach the plum. The editor of one of the dailies, and another Republican went to Columbus to ask Governor McKinley to appoint Miller as Police Commissioner, which he agreed to do. Subsequently, two other men went to consult McKinley on behalf of a Republican for the place of Police Commissioner. Instead of listening to their recommendation, he inquired about the qualifications of Miller. It was evident that the governor had entered into the Cox scheme.

It was necessary for Cox to secure the strongest man possible for his candidate. After canvassing the whole field, he concluded the only man strong enough to make the race, with prospects of success, against Horstman, was John A. Caldwell, at the time Member of Congress. Just before the convention, Mr. Caldwell was seen going into the Perin Building; it was current report about town the next day that the following conversation issued from one of the rooms, in a deep sepulchral voice:

"Caldwell, I hear you say you won't run for mayor?"

"I can't afford to; I am in congress and can't give up that position."

"Dam it, I made you, and can unmake you! You have got to run!"

So the campaign opened up with the three candidates in the field. Caldwell as Cox's man, Miller on the Democratic ticket, put there by an agreement with Cox, and Horstman on a Citizens' ticket.

The *Post* and a new paper called the *Tribune* stood by Horstman, but all the other papers opposed him. Little money could be collected, so they had to depend largely upon a general enthusiasm which might be worked up. Fortunately, the people had not yet learned that it was at the risk of their positions, or their business, to oppose Cox, so there was a general public avowal of the Citizens' ticket. Spontaneously, clubs sprang up in all parts of the city. Some were called Independent, some Citizens', and some Horstman Clubs. The feeling ran high. On the streets and in the offices a poll would indicate that fully seventy-five per cent were for Horstman.

Cox was letting no opportunity pass to secure support for his candidates. He heard the Central Labor Council was to have a meeting and was likely to indorse Horstman. He sent two men over to the meeting with \$300 in their pockets to induce some member to work through an indorsement of Caldwell. Hearing of this move, two members of the Labor Council prepared to meet the move. When a member arose to his feet and presented a resolution that the meeting indorse the candidacy, another member jumped to his feet and said, "You have been bought to make that motion. In the room on the opposite side of the hall are two men

, waiting for you, with three hundred dollars in their pockets. Come with me and I will show them to you." A search was made and the men found. Needless to say the council did not indorse Caldwell.

The Citizens' people had few precinct workers, and almost no challengers and witnesses, and having all the judges of election against them, they stood a poor chance of getting a fair count. The returns gave Caldwell 26,574, Horstman 19,912, and Miller 11,661. The figures showed quite conclusively that had not Miller been in the field, Horstman would have won. So the trick of Cox in inducing the buyable Democrats to nominate a candidate worked as he planned it should.

Two tricks used in this campaign are of interest. Senator Sherman, on one or more occasions, said, "Dephrone the boss." The Horstman people were using this as a war-cry. So Cox, through some agent, got Senator Sherman to write an open letter saying that though the Cincinnati election was local, yet it involved a national issue. Likewise, did McKinley write a letter of similar import, trying to coerce the people into believing that a national calamity might result from their bolting the party in the local contest.

In 1893 a new newspaper was started by a group of men, called the *Tribune*. Political reform was not so much the motive of the founders, as to produce a clean paper. At that time, very little else appeared in the news sheets but crime and sensationalism. Though their main object was merely to produce a more uplifting paper, yet at the same time they practically all opposed the Cox gang and stood for any reform. Horstman secured its support and it proved a valuable assistance. Gradual inroads were made upon the Com-

mercial-Gazette, which suffered by the addition of a morning paper more than did the *Enquirer*. Its financial success was not, however, such as to pay dividends; on the contrary, it required more funds to run it, and some of its stockholders concluded to sell out. James Glenn bought a controlling interest and ran the paper, though not successfully enough to make it a paying investment, yet with sufficient energy to cause the stock of the *Commercial-Gazette* to drop to below ten dollars a share. Then the *Commercial* made a proposition to the *Tribune*, which was accepted, and the two were consolidated under the name of the *Commercial-Tribune*. The unfortunate part of the union was that it removed from the field an independent paper which would have done much to contest the encroaching progress of Cox.

Though Horstman and independence were defeated in 1894, yet the people were not entirely discouraged. A revolting element in the Republican party still maintained its opposition and looked forward to the next mayoralty election, which was to occur in 1897. In the meantime, Cox was strengthening his lines by making more complete his organization and by decimating the Democratic ranks by giving them jobs.

It evidently occurred to Cox when he was preparing for the spring campaign of 1894, that in future contests he might be unable to buy off a controlling element in the Democratic party so as to induce them to put up a candidate of his choosing. On the contrary they might fuse with the independent element of the Republican party and defeat him. To ward against any such disastrous contingency, he contrived to have passed a measure known as the Dana law, by the State

Legislature in 1896, making it unlawful for a candidate's name to appear on more than one ticket. This made fusion impossible, and forced the independents either to put up a third ticket or split up between the two parties. Having fortified himself in this way he felt comparatively safe. He had little idea that the Democratic party would consent to drop the rooster and carry on a campaign under the head of the Citizens' ticket. This method being the only one left, those who were unwilling to wear the yoke of a boss began to consult with the leading Democrats to see if a union could not be effected on the next mayoralty fight. This proposition found a response on the part of John R. McLean. He was looking with wistful eyes to the senatorial appointment which was to take place in the winter of 1898. Could he win a victory in Cincinnati in the spring, the chances were good that the momentum might be kept up sufficiently to elect representatives in the fall who would cast their vote for him as a senatorial candidate. The independents welcomed his support because it meant financial aid and the strongest kind of newspaper publicity—since he owned the *Enquirer*, and was rich in addition.

Who should be the candidate? The first search, as it always is, was for a prominent and popular German. The man who most fully filled the requirements was Gustav Tafel. He had run on the Democratic ticket in 1891 against Mosby, and came within a few hundred votes of defeating him. Evidently he was popular with the people. On him the decision was made.

Here was a situation to try Cox's mettle. He must have a good man to run against Tafel. Levi C. Goodale was urged by Andrew Hickenlooper, president of

the Gas Company. He had a strong hold on Cox, so his recommendation had weight. Herrmann and Hynicka opposed the nomination on the ground that Goodale had done several things to make himself unpopular. Business men were prejudiced against him because he was a Bradstreet man, prying into their affairs. While in the legislature he had introduced a bill raising the Dow saloon tax from \$300 to \$500, consequently the Germans were not disposed in his favor. Nevertheless, he was selected by Cox and the campaign began.

A broadside of most bitter denunciation and recrimination came from the *Enquirer* daily. E. O. Eshelby, subsequently editor of the *Commercial-Tribune*, led the fight, and it was vigorous to exhaustion. He raked up all the shortcomings of the gang, and even gave detailed cost of the home furnishings of Garry Herrmann, with the inquiry, "Where did the money come from?"

The Democratic party was quite well organized, and furnished largely the precinct workers. In addition to the abundant funds used in the general campaign for election day, one hundred dollars was given to each ward executive. Feeling was high. Now was the time to dethrone Cox when he had a weak candidate. The people rose to the opportunity and Tafel was elected. This meant a complete overturning of the city offices. Of both parties were the new fusion officers, and the people expected much of them. But no sooner had they assumed office than Cox began a stealthy proselyting campaign.

The first recruit to desert the fusionist ranks was Mike Mullen. He was a Democratic member of the Board of Legislation, now termed the Council. At

that time there were thirty-one members, fifteen of whom were fusionists, and sixteen Republicans. This was a very unsafe majority, and Mike, having a kindly feeling for a fallen foe, flopped over to the Republican side, making the ratio fourteen to seventeen. As a reward for his desertion of those who had elected him, Cox appointed him his lieutenant to manage the Board of Legislation. The next ones to desert were Wade H. Ellis and Ellis G. Kinkead. Ellis had been managing editor of the *Tribune*, the reform and anti-gang paper, and Kinkead was a young man apparently of high ideals and exceptionally clean life. Both of them fell when tempted. Ellis has been rewarded by being given the position of Attorney General of Ohio, and Kinkead acts as a go-between for individuals or corporations who wish to make terms with Cox for grants, ordinances, or franchises.

Mayor Tafel himself was an honest man, but weak. His subordinates ran away with him. Victory to the long-suppressed Democrats was so novel a thing that they worked it for all there was to be gotten from it. Most indiscreet and unconsidered appointments were made. Offices, and most everything else, were for sale. Inefficiency was soon so apparent that the people who had voted for the fusion movement began to regret it, and wished that Cox were back in power.

The difficulty arose not because it was a fusion, but because of a vacillating and weak-kneed mayor, combined with the fact that the worst element of the Democratic party had got the upper hand. The real independents were not organized and played little part, except to vote. The Board of City Affairs was a partial exception. On the board were two men who could be

moved by no threats or temptations, James Glenn and Samuel Nieman. Many things that were attempted to be rushed through were blocked by these men.

After the board had been in power about two years, a chance came to test their fiber. Cox and Foraker concluded to raid the Gas Company. What was called the Dietrick Fuel Gas Ordinance was introduced in the Board of Legislation. Local gas was high, and natural gas had not been brought to the city. The proposition was to pipe it from the Sugar Grove fields, a place about 130 miles northeast of the city.

The Board of Legislation was easily handled with a free use of money. So abundantly was the coin used that it was openly talked of about City Hall. Hickenlooper, knowing that the ordinance must be confirmed by the Board of City Affairs, made no attempt to fight the measure in the lower board. Having two men on the administration board who would not vote for a hold-up measure, all he needed was a third man to make a tie vote. This one man he set out to buy. Cox and Foraker, having secured the four men, felt very confident of success. When the measure came up for a vote, the yeas and nays were called. Glenn and Nieman were expected to vote against it, but when Grogan answered nay, there was consternation. Ike Miller turned ashen white, arose from his seat and started from the room only to fall faint into another chair. What visions he saw of vanishing wealth, only those on the inside know.

Cox's defeat in the spring materially weakened him and it seemed, indeed, to some of his co-workers, that he should temporarily retire, apparently, to the background. Hanna and McKinley consulted with him,

and a plan of having a committee of twelve to manage the Republican party of Hamilton county, was agreed upon. Jacob Schmidlap was to be the chairman and leader of the committee. He was to take the place of Cox, not as boss, but as leader of the party. The committee, in consultation with Cox, selected the ticket for the fall election. As to legislative delegates, there was agreement, but the committee seemed to think that it had full power to choose also the local city and county ticket. When they tried this they found that they were the head of the Republican party in name only, for Cox did not agree to the choice made by them of three men on the ticket, consequently, at the convention they found themselves defeated and that Cox, after all, was the real power. He nominated his men.

It was thought by Hanna and McKinley that by having Cox retire in the background, Hamilton county would be much more likely to repudiate the Fusionists and elect delegates who would vote for Hanna for Senator. The plan was good, but it did not work. The Fusionists elected all the representatives but two, and two of the three State Senators.

On election day Cox created a sensation by issuing a letter withdrawing from politics. It was given to the *Post*, and appeared on the streets about 4 P. M., too late to influence votes. The letter was as follows:

"To the Public.

"For several months I have contemplated retiring from politics. I deemed it a duty I owed to myself and my family. I was constrained to postpone the announcement of my retirement lest it would be construed by some people as a betrayal of my party and

my friends, and would be used by the Democracy against our ticket. Now that the great battle of 1897 is over, and my duty has been faithfully performed, I feel justified in publicly stating that I voluntarily, confidently looking for Republican success to-day, step down and out as a leader, or a so-called 'boss,' though I do claim the privilege of serving as a private in the ranks of the Republican party, the grandest political party on earth. The Republican party deserves to win at all times, for it has the courage of its convictions. I have given over twenty years of the best part of my life to the Republican cause and aspire to no office. I feel that I am entitled to a rest, both from active party work, and from public and private abuse, and that I ought to give my time and attention to my family and my friends, from which I expect to derive much pleasure.

"To my steadfast friends while in public life, I extend my sincere thanks. I shall remember their loyalty and cherish their friendship all my life. My political enemies and their deeds shall be forgotten. Ingrates are to be pitied—their failings are born in them—and they should not be blamed too much. During the last twenty years, possibly because of my prominence before the public, I have been frequently unjustly assailed by the press and by individuals, and have had at times the odor of decayed hen's fruit attached to myself. In the future I trust the eggs will be candled before they are thrown.

"I now declare for once and all time that I never made a dollar or any other sum of money out of candidates, office-holders, or public employees, either in city, county, state, or national government, nor have

I ever derived any revenue from public contractors or from dealing with them. That which I possess, and some people in the community seem to begrudge me my possessions, I came by honestly. I have always tried to deal fairly by all men, and have always made my word my bond. Any mistakes have been from the head and not the heart.

"With this statement I retire to private life, expecting to remain a citizen of Cincinnati, the city of my birth, and which I am proud, for some time to come, if Almighty God shall will it so.

"GEORGE B. COX."

The only explanation for Cox writing the letter was that he saw defeat in the election and he issued this withdrawal before the count was made so as to give the public the impression that defeat had nothing to do with it. This was his second defeat. In both campaigns the cry had been bossism, and had centered about Cox as the culprit. If now he could get behind the box where he could pull the strings and yet not be seen, possibly the people would return to the Republican fold. At least, it was worth trying. Besides, a little declaration that he would hereafter and forever remain out of politics would be taken as a joke when he appeared again, or perchance, it would be forgotten by a majority of the people. By the following spring election he was in the saddle without a veil or mask. His efforts in winning over the fusion officeholders had so succeeded that the tide was turning his way again, so why should he longer remember his monastic vow?

After Hanna's election as senator, Cox received some aid from him that reduced the last stronghold

that had held out against his complete control through his years of gradual conquest. Having secured control of the city, it was not hard for Cox to acquire the county offices. Federal jobs were, however, beyond his reach. Hanna realizing that Cox had aided as far as possible in his bought election to the senate, was ready to return the favor in kind. He sent a telegram to Cox asking whom he wanted for internal revenue collector. Cox replied in one word, Bernard Bettman, and he was appointed. Cox possibly chose Bettman because he had failed to secure his appointment as a member of the Southern Railroad Board of Trustees. At that time there were one or two Superior Court judges whom Cox could not control. Through Hanna he secured control of practically all the other federal offices, which made him complete dictator of all Hamilton county patronage.

By the next mayoralty election, in 1900, Cox was ready for a fight. He had changed his mind and responded to an encore, appearing again in politics. The fusion administration had disgusted the people and they were ready for a change, even though it be to a boss. Cox nominated Julius Fleischmann. His recommendations were that his father, of National Yeast fame, had befriended the people by many charities. The son was rich, a successful business man, generally popular among his friends, who were many, as being "a good fellow," all conduced to make good candidacy material.

Fleischmann was elected over Alfred Cohen, who ran as Fusionists candidate. The people were glad to be rid of a fusion administration run by rapacious Democrats. Unbuyable, and independent up to a cer-

tain point, Fleischmann made a fair mayor. To be sure, he was willing to have a prize fight in Cincinnati, and gave free license to gambling, yet he favored good streets and good public institutions within the limits of the taxes allowed by Cox.

During his administration, the contract of the Edison Company for lighting the city expired. This brought on an interesting fight. Cox was with the Gas Company, who wanted the contract, or at least wanted to defeat the Edison Company so that it could be bought out cheaply. Foraker was with the Edison people. Cox had the Council and Board of Public Service at his command. No contract could be entered into without his consent. Foraker, knowing this fact, had to make a flank attack. He brought Attorney General Sheets to the city for a conference. That evening there appeared in the papers a statement that the Attorney General was likely to bring action to test the constitutionality of the Board of Public Service, on which there was some ground for questioning. Should a case be brought and carried against the Board, it would reinstate the former Board of City Affairs, which Cox could not control. Forthwith, and in a great tumultuous haste, the Council passed an ordinance extending the franchise of the Edison Company and granted a permit to lay underground wires. This brought Cox and Foraker together and an agreement was reached by which the Gas Company was to buy out the Edison Company, paying three shares for one, while its own stock went in on the basis of only two for one. Cox loaded up on Edison and Jones Bros. stock, and on the sale multiplied his holdings by three.

He made probably not less than a half million dollars by this deal.

A new contract was to be made with the Gas Company for lighting the streets. Here was an opportunity to save much for the city, or make much for the company, which incidentally meant much for the gang. The old lights were satisfactory as to amount of light, but were not well placed. Besides, the city had the advantage of measuring the current at the lamp. A new contract was entered into. The amperage of the lamp was reduced with a resulting diminution of the light almost to uselessness. In addition, the contract was so drawn that the current was to be measured at the generating station, which threw upon the city all the loss of transmission, which, in the course of the term of contract, is figured to amount to at least fifty thousand dollars. The price per lamp was slightly reduced, but the power consumed by each light was reduced in a much greater proportion, so that the net price to the city for the amount of light secured was considerably increased.

This was worth money to the Gas Company and they were willing to pay for it, and without question did. How much the heads of the gang received I am unable to say. Rumor reports one member of Council to have received twenty thousand dollars. If this be true, Cox, Herrmann, and Hynicka must have received in excess of this amount.

Unique among municipalities, Cincinnati owns a railroad. Its southern terminus is Chattanooga, Tennessee. Financial reports accredit it with being one of the best paying single line railroads in the United States.

In 1896 a coterie of financiers attempted to buy the road. The proposed sale was to be made to two representatives of the parties at the time leasing the road.

The city was receiving a rental of \$1,190,000 a year, and would soon receive the sum of \$1,250,000 yearly rental. Under the new proposal, the buyers were to pay the city the sum of \$19,000,000 in second mortgage bonds bearing four per cent, and maturing in one hundred years. At this rate the city would receive yearly \$760,000 instead of \$1,250,000, which its road would soon be paying.

An election was arranged for, at which the people were to vote on the proposal. Cox was "seen" by the financiers and agreed to carry the election. The current report was that a large sum of money was to be put in his hands for that purpose.

A Southern Railroad Protecting Association was formed of ten men who presented the facts to the people and showed them how they were about to be robbed. As a result of their labors the Germans especially were aroused and voted against the sale. Strange to say Cox was so confident of victory that he spent little of the money reported to have been placed in his hands, and to his surprise lost the election by a few hundred votes. Report also had it that a quarrel subsequently arose as to how the corruption fund should be divided.

Failing to sell the road, in 1901 an extension of the lease was agitated, though it had yet five years to run. After considerable wrangling the lease was extended on the basis of a rental of \$1,050,000 a year for sixty years. The ones on the Board who opposed the lease at the time, did so because they felt that the city

could exact much better terms at the expiration of the lease. As facts have subsequently shown, by the earning capacity of the road, it would pay good dividends on a valuation of \$50,000,000. In short, the city is now receiving \$290,000 a year rental more than it would have received in interest had it sold the road in 1896 for \$19,000,000. And had the extension of the lease been postponed until near the expiration of the lease no doubt this excess would amount yearly to not less than \$500,000. Cox was quite willing that the city should lose its railroad and income.

During Fleischmann's administration, the yoke of the boss galled until the people moved uneasily and began to balk. Symptoms of revolt grew more and more apparent. Not that Fleischmann was not doing reasonably well under the circumstances; but the circumstances were that his hands were tied and he made no desperate or exhaustive effort to release himself. By the winter of 1903 these mutterings had taken the form of a definite plan to put up an independent candidate against Cox's nominee. Some independent Republicans joined with the Democrats and formed what was termed "The Committee of Twenty-six," in which was vested all power to carry on a campaign.

After a considerable urging, M. E. Ingalls, President of the Big Four Railroad, was induced to run for mayor. Here, thought everybody, was a man so well known, so well liked, so thoroughly identified with the upbuilding and welfare of Cincinnati, that the people, with one accord, would rally to his support. Cox wanted Fleischmann to run again. He refused and went to New York opportunely. From there he telegraphed a repeated refusal. Cox's language on the re-

ceipt of the information was not appropriate to the white page. "Why, that — — — — —, if he do n't run he will get out of this town." With extreme reluctance, he concluded to make the race.

The fight was bitter. Two weeks before the election, Mr. Goldsmith, a Jewish friend of the gang, had a bachanalian feast at his home, to which he invited all the gang politicians. At the door were two "Sisters of Charity" to receive the guests. After the invited ones had arrived, these saintly sisters came into the festive hall, and throwing off their churchly robes, sprang forth as ballet dancers. Loud applause greeted the cleverly planned surprise. Unfortunately for the gang, the newspapers learned of the affair and printed it in all its details. The public, with one accord, Protestants as well as the insulted Catholics, were deeply aroused at the sacrilegious display. Had the election occurred soon after, undoubtedly the gang would have been swept out of power. An appeal was made to Archbishop Elder to make a public statement that Fleischmann's father had befriended the Catholic Church, and the incident had no bearing on the candidacy of the son. He would not speak at first, but later published such a statement. This smoothed the troubled waters somewhat, and eased the consciences of the Catholic voters who wanted to support Fleischmann.

On election day money flowed freely. Much illegal registration had been done. From a saloon adjoining our institution, sixteen men had registered; from the Spencer House, a tenement, men were registered from empty rooms, and even from the coal bin. During election day I stood opposite the polling place of Pre-

inct D, of Ward 8. Mike Mullen, the ward captain and councilman, had established headquarters on the opposite side of the street from the voting place, within the hundred-foot limit. As fast as men voted, he ran them across the street into the headquarters, from which they issued within a minute with a satisfied look on their faces. One man missed his aim, and inquired of us where he could get his dollar for his vote. We directed him to Mike's den, and he, too, came out with a peaceful look. Through the keyhole money could be seen to pass. Though we notified police headquarters, and though the sergeant of police stood about there for a half hour, nothing was done to interrupt Mike's donation party. Unquestionably, several thousand illegal votes were cast in the city for Fleischmann, yet not sufficient to aggregate his majority of about fifteen thousand. The people were evidently afraid to try fusion again. The experience of the Tafel administration still remained as a bad taste in their mouth.

Mayor Fleischmann has now about finished his second term and has proven a fairly acceptable official. He has been more independent, and at times has asserted his own will in opposition to that of Cox. Could he have had the courage to shake himself entirely free, he would be credited with having given one of the best administrations Cincinnati has had.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MACHINE.

IN the preceding chapters the evolution of the Cox machine has been traced, also the various efforts to overthrow it have been described. A fuller description of its present form, however, is needed to give a clear idea of its working and its despotic power.

Cox is now fifty-one years old, in weight about two hundred and twenty-five pounds; iron grey hair and mustache; a man of good appearance with the exception of an eye that does not inspire confidence. He talks little, expressing himself only when he has made up his mind; he has a sepulchral voice, unmodulated by sympathy; a sphinx to a newspaper reporter. With few exceptions, he will be found during the evening at Wielert's saloon in company with some intimate friends. Here he meets his workers and talks over situations. Though he has a palatial home in Clifton, lights seldom appear in its windows, indicating that home life is not one of his enjoyments. Nine o'clock each morning finds him in his office at the Cincinnati Trust Company, of which he is president. In the afternoon he occupies his political office over the Mecca saloon. Here he receives applicants for jobs, adjusts difficulties, and plans with his lieutenants.

He seldom leaves the city, knowing well, especially in his line, that "eternal vigilance is the price of suc-

cess." It is absolutely necessary that every part of his machine should be kept constantly conscious of the fact that he is the all-powerful one, and the fate of each depends upon his good will. Should any considerable number of job holders conceive the idea that their welfare depended upon some lieutenant other than Cox, this subordinate officer might gradually acquire too much power and be a threatening force.

Until recently, when he broke into the financial world, he had every person applying for a job come directly to him, bearing the approval of his ward captain. Now, however, his time is so occupied with financiering that the apportioning of minor jobs is left to Herrmann and Hynicka, his first lieutenants.

This delegation of powers may prove his undoing. It will depend upon the combined ambition and courage of those two subordinates. If the major portion of the job holders come to feel that the no or yes is said by some other than Cox, they may become the adherents of the under power and push Cox out of the political ring.

Cox's power, as that of any boss, depends absolutely upon his power of disposing of jobs. It is an unqualified condition, impressed upon all heads of departments and office-holders, that all subordinate help shall be appointed by him. A judge can not select his own bailiff or stenographer. The mayor can not choose his assistant or clerks. This, of course, in many instances, is humiliating to the dignified incumbent, but he understands the system before he takes office, so meekly submits.

By thus demanding the appointment of every person paid from the city or county treasury, Cox has

about five thousand job holders directly dependent upon him; each and every one realizing that Cox is in position to say "come, and he cometh; go, and he goeth." These five thousand men have on an average, at least five friends whose votes they are supposed to control, through friendship. Not infrequently, the job holder appeals to these friends for their vote on the ground that his job depends upon his being able to influence so many votes, and surely they would not see him lose his position and thus cause his family to suffer. Great emphasis is laid upon the necessity of each job holder delivering a certain number of votes. Recently, a young man who was chafing because he was compelled to vote the Cox ticket, made the explanation of his bonds by saying, "My father is janitor of one of the public school buildings. They demand of him that he control my vote and those of two other young men who board with us. We are carefully watched when we go to the polls. If we stay in the booths too long, we are called to task for it when we come out." In this way Cox controls, with certainty, approximately twenty-five thousand votes.

To keep this army of job holders and their friends in line, he has two staff officers, August, commonly called Garry, Herrmann and Rud (Rudolph) Hynicka. Herrmann, in years, is about the age of Cox, a heavy set, sandy complexioned German. As a boy and young man he worked in a type foundry. While still in that trade, he became a member of the Board of Education and took an active part in his ward. At the time he was a worker with and supporter of Moerlein, Cox's rival. When Cox became supreme in 1891, Herrmann was one of the articles of booty, and thereafter

swore his allegiance to the now all-powerful leader. He was made chairman of the campaign committee, and subsequently was appointed a member of the Board of Public Works. The job of executive deputy in the sheriff's office he also held. In all these positions he showed considerable executive ability, and became more and more valuable to Cox as a practical manager of city affairs.

At present he is President of the Board of Commissioners for the New Water Works; manager of the Cincinnati ball team, and virtual superintendent of the city. He has an office in the City Hall, and is enabled to carry on all his varied activities by having at his disposal all the clerks of the different departments. If he wishes to send out communications relative to baseball matters, stenographers are at his call; if certain measures are to be worked through Council or the Board of Public Service, the substance is dictated by Herrmann, and clerks who know the form to be given to such matters work out the detail. When he wants to give certain men jobs, he has forms drawn up and presented to the Board of Public Service resolving that the Board employ such or such a man. These resolutions always pass. Everything that is to come before Council, of any importance, is passed on by him before being presented. Recently reports were read in Council from six committees, though but two of them had had a meeting. The presumption was that the reports were made for them by Herrmann. If difficulties arise in reference to paving or lighting, they are presented to him and he dictates a solution, which the Board of Public Service, after thoughtful consideration, decides upon.

Of the Water Works Commission, he is in reality president. All things go his way. On the Board are W. B. Mellish, Leopold Markbreit, Maurice J. Freiberg, and Chas. M. Holloway. Mr. Mellish is president of the Bromwell Brush Works, which contracts with the city for the convict labor of the Workhouse. It is a profitable contract. Mr. Mellish seldom sees reason to remonstrate from any of Herrmann's decisions. Mr. Markbreit, very unfortunately, has been partly paralyzed, and is largely incapacitated for most active duties. He needs his position on the Commission and seldom says anything that would make him an unwelcome member of the Board. These two, with Herrmann, make a majority, so it makes little difference what Mr. Freiberg and Mr. Holloway may think about any measure.

Such an arrangement reduces friction and makes the task of spending the ten million dollars for the new water works much easier for Herrmann.

Herrmann's relation to Cox may be best described by likening him to the superintendent of a manufacturing plant. Cox is owner and can veto any action, so he has to be consulted, but the buying of material, hiring of men, adjusting of differences, is in Herrmann's hands, as superintendent. A few years ago Cox was both owner and superintendent, but now that his own property interests have become so large, being worth from one to several millions, and also being a bank president, he has had to relinquish the details.

Rud (Rudolph) K. Hynicka is the second on his staff. He is county treasurer. Somewhat younger than Cox or Herrmann, he is also cleaner faced and clearer eyed. The running of a machine has not

stamped so deeply in his countenance the look of a professional politician who has been getting things by devious ways. By profession he was a newspaper man, working for some time on the *Enquirer*. As a reporter, he got an inner knowledge of city affairs which developed a taste for political intrigue. He was elected to the place of Police Court clerk, where he got his first real lift. A plan was developed by him of closing his office at four o'clock, which was legal, and after that hour charging from three to five dollars for each entry, and a like amount for a bond. Having thoughtfully gotten his father-in-law to sign bonds in blank, all that he needed, to secure the bond fee, was to fill out the remaining blanks. All this was legal, but a cleverly worked scheme with big remuneration.

His part in the machine is to handle the funds and the workers. Between elections he keeps up-to-date a card catalogue of the voters. The name of every man in the city is on filing cards, with such information as is useful politically. If a man moves, headquarters must be notified and the new address given; a different ward captain or precinct executive becomes responsible for him. This list, to be effective, must be constantly revised. He must also watch the workers to see that they are keeping track of their constituents, and making regular reports. The campaign fund he collects. This consists of two and one-half per cent of each job holder's yearly salary, and ten per cent of the first year's salary of a new office. Formerly it was two per cent for each election, making four per cent for the year. If the position has perquisites, frequently the percentage is very much increased. In one case, a would-be candidate for sheriff

was asked three thousand dollars. Under the fee system the salary of the heads of some departments is at least twenty-five thousand dollars; their share of campaign expenses will be large. To make sure of getting the money from the city employees, it is kept out of their pay envelopes. This simplifies matters greatly. In addition to these assessments, the business men are called upon for contributions. Another duty devolving upon Hynicka is to attend to the county offices and patronage. The county is as closely organized as the city, and these workers must be watched and appeased. They must be given county jobs. At the court house he is master, as is Herrmann at City Hall. The management of this part of the machinery is attended to by Hynicka without hiring of clerks.

These two men, Herrmann and Hynicka, form what may be termed Cox's cabinet. All plans are talked over with them, although he does not always take their judgment, as he did not in the nomination of Goodale for mayor in 1897. With them is divided the spoils, and one of the most distinctive characteristics of Cox's machine is that it stays in the hands of the few at the top, and is distributed in a very minor degree to the underlings. A marked power of Cox is his ability to keep men of such ability as Herrmann and Hynicka in subordination and harmonious. They could disrupt his machine at any time, but apparently have little disposition to do so. It is said that Cox becomes alarmed at times at the lavish expenditures of Herrmann; who has but a small visible income; but if such fear exists, it is not manifest to the public, and apparently causes no domestic disturbance.

In the early nineties, Cox had more men in his

cabinet. Dr. Graydon was very close to the throne, and being a man of keen political insight, was a valuable advisor. Simon Krug, a photographer, had secured control of the county offices, and had proved his power by being able to dictate nearly all county measures and appointments. When Cox won him over, he was naturally much consulted. Graydon having died, and Krug having been shelved, Cox has deemed it the part of wisdom not to call in other counselors. The fewer he has to consult, the less likelihood of discord.

The skeleton of Cox's machine is simple. He at the center is supreme; associated with him are his two cabinet men, Herrmann and Hynicka. Herrmann runs all city departments except the Council, which is entrusted to Mike Mullen. This provides for the administration. The army which retains this inner circle of administration in power, is minutely organized. At the head of each ward is a captain who is directly responsible to Cox, but in most matters, reports to Herrmann or Hynicka. Under each ward captain are executives, one in charge of each precinct. The responsibility of carrying a ward is placed on the captain; if he fails to accomplish this and no satisfying explanation can be given, he loses his place, usually not in an arbitrary way, but by encouragement being given to the next strongest man to compete for it. The contest will make clear which has the strongest following and is the natural leader. The precinct executives are in like manner held responsible by the captains. They must know about every man in their small district, what his tendencies are, what organizations he belongs to, how he may be influenced, who his

friends are. He must make a poll of his district on demand, and he is usually able to tell within a few votes how his precinct will go. How to work on the prejudices of his followers he must know. During the campaign last fall for the Board of Education, in Ward One, various and sundry tales were told about the Citizens' candidate. In Protestant precincts he was announced as a Catholic; in Catholic precincts he was pictured as a Protestant, who would be very unfriendly to Catholic interests. The tale was suited to the people. It is the business of the precinct executive to know how to rise to such political legerdemain.

There is no dearth of men who want the position of leader of the precinct or of the ward. They are always rewarded so liberally, or, what to that class of men is liberal, that the position is much sought after.

The precinct executives, with few exceptions, hold city jobs. Higher offices, such as councilman, or departmental positions, are reserved for ward captains. In case there is not a job for a precinct man, he is given a money consideration for his services. This seldom occurs, however, since it is much cheaper to recompense him from the city treasury than from the campaign funds, the remainder of which always goes into Cox's private pocket. During the school fight of last fall, a precinct executive of Precinct G, of Ward X, piteously prayed people to vote for the Cox candidate, because, as he said, "He held a job at the Court House, and he would lose this position if he failed to make a good showing."

It may be of interest to the reader to note the kind

of jobs the various ward captains are given. Below is the complete list:

Ward.

1. John Breen—Member City Council.
2. Daniel W. Brown—Assistant U. S. Postmaster.
3. G. W. Tibbles—Justice of Peace.
4. Vivian J. Fagin—U. S. Marshall.
5. William E. Kennedy—City Inspector of Engines for Ohio.
6. R. K. Hynicka—County Treasurer.
7. Fred Bader—County Recorder.
8. Michael Mullen—Member City Council.
9. Wm. H. Leuders—Judge of Police Court.
10. August Herrmann—President New Water Works Commission.
11. Fred Driehs—Deputy County Clerk's Office.
12. Frank S. Krug—Civil Engineer under County Commissioners.
13. Jos. A. Brown—Superintendent of Markets.
14. Fred Maag—Superintendent Street Cleaning Department.
15. Wm. Scheibel—Custodian City Hall.
16. Dan Everson—Engineer for Court House.
17. August Kirbert—Clerk Police Court.
18. Louis Kraft—Gambling House Privileges.
19. Edw. Bartsche—Assistant City Sealer.
20. Geo. F. Holmes—Clerk of Board of Public Service.
21. Jos. Keenan—Member of City Council.
22. Henry W. Haman—Member of City Council.
23. Louis Scheuler—Member of City Council.
24. Fred Sperber—Member of City Council.

All of these positions are lucrative. The only captain not holding a salaried position is Louis Kraft, who was formerly a saloon partner of Cox, and now has an income from a variety of privileges. In the first place he runs the largest gambling den in the city. Then in addition he gets grafts off from the market people and houses of prostitution, so that his income is no doubt many times larger than a city office would offer.

It is asked, who are these men? From what class do they come? What did they do formerly? Many suppose that a large proportion of them are saloon-keepers. This, however, is not true; but four of them keep saloons. Saloonists are more plentiful in the Council; over fifty per cent of whose members, previous to the present Council, were in that business. It is quite possible that Cox has learned that saloonists, as a rule, can not be depended upon to perform the responsible work of ward captains. All these men, however, are on intimate terms with all the saloonists of their wards, and can deal with them for the patronage they control. The larger proportion of the captains have made politics their business, and have done nothing else but hold city or county positions. Three of the captains are engineers, and two were formerly newspaper men.

They are invariably men who are good mixers and are free givers in a small way. In most cases they are likable and approachable men, who make friends easily. Without this quality they could not succeed in winning and holding adherents.

Few of them go to the extent in their hospitality as does Mike Mullen, of the Eighth Ward. Mike

yearly gives a picnic to the people of his ward—nominally his ward, but on the morning of a picnic the bridges leading from Newport and Covington are strung with women and children hastening to get a place on the Island Queen—that is to take them to Mike's picnic up the river. Last summer the papers estimated that twenty-five thousand attended, fifteen thousand of whom must have come from beyond his ward. Little does Mike care, however, it makes him popular and he collects many times more than enough to pay the expenses from the business men of his ward. In the winter Mike prays for cold weather so that he can treat the negroes along Front Street to free soup, bread, and coal. Just the day before I write this, Superintendent White, of the Union Bethel, was investigating the need among the negroes, and inquired of one woman why she did not go to the work room of the Associated Charities where she could earn some coal and food. Her reply was, "Me go to de work room—no, no, not me. Mike Mullen wants our men's votes. Mike will gib us coal, he will, he allus does. No sir, I go to no work room." Her philosophy was good. Mike does supply these necessities and welcomes the opportunity, so that it gives him a stronger hold on their votes. The expenses, however, are paid from public contribution and not from Mike's pocket.

Mike has an office up town on Government Square, with the sign on the window, "Mullen's Detective Agency." The majority of customers he has, however, are men who want jobs, or those who have got in some scrape and need his intercession at Police Court. Some times it is an agent who wants to get his engine installed in City Hall, and is willing to

give five hundred dollars to Mike to work it through. There are also other men with equally interesting stories. Mike is always a good listener.

Bob O'Brien, of the Sixth Ward, is an imitator of Mike's in a small way. He gives his workers a picnic during the summer; at Christmas time he cheers some with presents of reviving spirits. In the spring and summer Bob leaves his gambling to his game tender and spends much time in watching the school children enjoy a cart and pony which he furnishes, to their great delight. This pony serves as a portable merry-go-round, without the embarrassing accompaniment of a five cent charge. Bob is a social philosopher in his way. He knows if he can please the children the parents will look upon him with favor. Throughout the year he nightly gives a dime to almost any applicant who wants to sleep in the lodging houses of Gano and Lodge Alleys. These houses are the source of an elastic vote that can be swelled to almost any proportion in times of sudden need. So Bob fosters and cherishes these places and their unambitious patrons.

Ed Kellogg, of the First Ward, gives no picnics, but is ever watchful to do some good turn that will win adherents. As he passed on the car each evening, he noticed some young men gathered at a certain spot with no better resting place than a picket fence. Soon after this observation sank into his consciousness, the young men found a seat at their customary gathering place. Each one made a surprised inquiry as to the thoughtful donor—the answer was, Kellogg. This made votes.

Such customs in varied forms are used by all of the ward captains. We condemn it? We say Mike

feeds the negroes to curry favor? He gives picnics to "stand in" with the women? All that is true, and yet it is a very natural action which, in some form, giving coal, helping in funeral expenses, assisting with small loans in times of a pinch, a warm heart will inevitably manifest. The man who has a kindly spirit will show it and will gain friends. These friends are glad to support him if he wants a political position. Any would-be reformers must reckon with this natural impulse.

In many cases the councilman has other privileges than his salaried positions. At least five of them who run saloons are permitted to run a gambling game in connection. Bob O'Brien has become rich with his large gambling house. He has never been molested. Several times there have been bluff raids made, and only the lookouts were arrested, and on trial before Police Court Judge Leuders, their case was put on the open docket, which means dismissal. This official protection is worth a great deal. Councilmen Schweninger, Bauer, Keenan, Schueler, Sperber, and Schaeffer have been treated with like leniency. Judge Leuders, of the Police Court, receives his salary of \$3,500, and in addition he unnecessarily refers a great many cases to his law partner, McCabe, a part of which fees probably returns to Leuders.

The man who becomes a precinct or ward leader is not a peculiar type. He is of ordinary intelligence, but never lacks energy, and a willingness to get out and work. The aptitude for politics lies either in a desire for office or a pride in leadership. Some men will sacrifice much time and money just because they relish a good fight, and take pleasure in organizing

forces and meeting obstacles. Others work hard because a public office touches their pride and vanity. The prime qualification, however, is a willingness to get out and hustle. We ordinarily think of the political worker as one who wants something and naturally wants to get it—prompted by a selfish motive, we say. But the average citizen who disdains to work during a campaign is no less selfish. He does not lend his aid, since he also is after something, not in a political line, but in business. In ability he, without doubt, excels the executive of his precinct, and quite likely is as selfish. If he would humble his pride and sacrifice a little of his time, he would, in all probability, prove a stronger power than the man who is allowed, through indifference, to control the situation. I recall one man in the Citizens' movement, who is a clerk. He wants no job, but does want to see a cleaner city. Rolling up his sleeves, he dived into the campaign last passed, and single-handed overcame a normal majority of about one hundred, carrying his precinct. He was a more effective worker than the Cox organization man, not because of political knowledge—he had little—but because he was highly respected, and a personal visit from him carried weight. Cox men are victorious not because they are more powerful, but because the average man is too proud or busy to work, and leaves the field to any one who may compete for it.

The question is often asked how does Cox keep his army of men together, and contented? Why no mutinies? The answer is simple. The class of men he uses are all job seekers. Supply them with a job and you keep them. If there were not enough jobs to go round, or civil service were in force, he could not

maintain a machine. There is almost an insane dread on the part of most of these workers of losing their jobs: a loss both in money and standing. It is not that the position brings anything besides the wages or salary. It seldom does. The honor suffices, with the small pay, to lead him on as self-sacrificingly, as does the ambition of Rockefeller, that plethoric plunderer.

Graft does not enter to any large extent, as an explanation of the loyalty of his followers. In most cities grafting is done all along down the line; each man exacts something from the man under him, or from any one over whom he can exercise some authority or can bestow some favor. Cox's system does not permit this custom to any large extent. With him "all roads lead to Rome," and he is Rome. He demands reasonably good service from the city job holders, and they must be content with their salaries, as compensation, or give place to another man. When practically all city employes know that Cox has grown rich from something other than a salary, since he has had none, the natural supposition would be that there would arise a chorus of beseeching cries for a portion of these constantly increasing riches, at least just some crumbs—but no cries are heard, not even grumblings. They have learned to be content. How can Cox be sure that he is trusting the right men—men who will not see things and tell things—men who will run this office the way he wants it run, and will not be too ardent in introducing reforms into its management? He could not be sure when he first came into complete power. At that time he had to select from material that presented itself. Such a necessity had many objections. It occasionally put into office a Theodore

Horstman, who was not content with routine; or a Rufus B. Smith; or a Howard C. Hollister, who, on the bench, gave honest opinions regardless of their effect. Such dangerous contingencies must be avoided if possible. A system which would discern the tendencies of men before they should be put into responsible offices, would have decided advantages. Such a system he has now quite perfected.

One of the chief testing grounds is the Board of Education. The State Legislature of 1904 were about to pass a school code requiring a small board in each city. This feature of the bill Cox fought with all his power. After a long struggle a compromise was effected, giving each city a choice as to the size of its own board. The decision was left in the hands of the existing board. Cincinnati promptly chose a board consisting of a member from each ward and three at large. The large board accomplishes several things for Cox. In the first place, it forms an additional center of influence in each ward. Then it gives a chance to try out men where they can do but little harm if they prove self-willed, or to have ideas of their own. The one real test used in this Board is a vote on the tax levy for the schools. Money used in the schools is somewhat more jealously guarded by the public than that used in any other city department. There is consequently little chance for graft on contracts, and more especially as a larger part goes for teachers' salaries. Little graft could be secured here with safety. It is natural then that Cox should want as little as possible spent on the schools. As a result of this policy the schools are getting 3.82 mills, while the average for the cities of Ohio is about 8 mills. Each

fall the Board of Education votes upon the levy for the following year. Cox watches the vote with great interest. What ones, if any, will remonstrate against such policy? Last fall he must have been highly pleased, as every Republican member voted for the reduced levy, without a remonstrance. Cox reasons well when he says to himself, "These men can be trusted elsewhere, in city offices, where I want things my way." I am glad to say, however, that a new impulse seems to be developing in the Board which may take the form of an opposition to some of Cox's extreme demands.

Another way of testing men is to find what bankers will handle the county funds and pay interest into private hands, or what brokers will deal in questionable securities; what dealers will sell to the city and give rebates to the agent; what lawyers will charge large fees, and turn them over to the inner gang; what labor organization leaders will use influence for a consideration. There are a variety of other methods used to try out men before they are given an office where they might be dangerous if self-willed.

CHAPTER V.

OPERATION OF THE MACHINE.

THE smooth interworking of the machine is most manifest in a campaign. Usually long before the time of a convention, Cox has decided upon all nominations. There is no hunting for men on his part; he is rather embarrassed by an over-abundance of office-seekers. A goodly number of men are always in the waiting line, who have been promised a position at the first favorable opening as a reward for past work. So large is this waiting list that it becomes an embarrassment. The nominations having been determined, it is time to prepare for the primary. Each ward captain understands he is to submit a list of names of delegates for the convention. These are presented to Cox, who approves or objects to certain ones, as the case may be. A final list is decided upon and the primary is called for the night immediately preceding the convention. This time is chosen so that there will be no possible chance of any of the delegates getting together and concocting some scheme to beat the slate. Of course, such a proceeding would be a very remote probability, as the men chosen are known to be in a large measure tractable. In some of the hilltop wards, however, it is necessary at times, for appearance's sake, to choose men who might, if a combination could be effected, cause trouble. At times it is advisable to

get out a large vote at the primaries so as to make an impression of enthusiasm. The ward workers know, of course, whom they can depend upon to get out. All job holders and their friends are compelled to go, which, in itself, is sufficient to control the primaries under ordinary circumstances. In some of the downtown wards an army of men are paid a drink, or ten cents, to attend. The ten cents is quite sufficient to get the negroes out in large numbers.

Occasionally, there is a contest at the primaries; not, however, without Cox's approval. In case two or three men, equally loyal, want the same office, and Cox is not overly satisfied that the present incumbent is the strongest man, he permits such a contest, to determine their relative strength. Such a struggle occurred last fall in the Ninth Ward, where three men, with much running to and fro, besought the help of their friends. Joe Schweninger, the present councilman, however, being onto the ropes, was enabled to secure help from other wards. Men by the dozens, who were not residents of his ward, came to his primary and cast their votes for his delegates. He had an additional advantage of having a large following on account of his saloon and gambling house.

It is always advisable that the precinct executive and ward captain be delegates. Under some circumstances, however, he deems it not advisable for him to present his name at the primary. This difficulty is easily overcome by arranging with some man to be elected as delegate and then turn his proxy over to the executive. This substitution is not discovered at the convention, as there is no committee on credentials, and no roll called, consequently no one can know who

is and who is not legally there. Any irregularity is guarded against by the knowledge of each ward captain as to his own delegates. On the following morning, after the primaries, the chairmen of the ward delegates meet Cox at Wielert's saloon. These chairmen, in nearly all instances, are the ward captains, not by virtue of having been chosen by the delegates, but by merely assuming the office. Cox gives each a slip of paper indicating how they are to vote as their wards are called. He also has all resolutions in typewritten form and arranges with certain individuals to present them at the proper time. The temporary officers are also indicated. Preparations having been made, all repair to the Convention except Cox, who remains at Wielert's. In former years Cox used to be one of the sergeants-at-arms, and was always on the floor to direct operations. Now, however, the machine is so well adjusted that it runs itself.

The order of procedure of the convention is about as follows:

1st. The Chairman of the Executive Committee calls the meeting to order and introduces the temporary chairman, who fires his audience with a speech upon the virtue of the Republican party, and especially its local accomplishments. His speech is sure to contain only such matter as is acceptable, because he has previously submitted it to Cox for his approval.

2nd. Some one then reads a resolution, previously prepared by Cox, that the temporary officers be made permanent.

3rd. Another thoughtful person, conscientious about the saving of time, introduces a Cox-prepared resolution that no nominating speeches be made, but

all names of candidates be handed to the secretary on a slip of paper.

4th. The clerk then calls the roll of the wards and it is discovered that but one name for each office has been presented to the secretary—a chance coincidence. Each chairman then in turn announces the vote of his delegates, though not one of them has been consulted as to his choice.

5th. When about half of the nominations have been made, a delegate jumps to his feet and moves that the rules be suspended and that the remaining nominations be made by acclamation,—carried, with a roof-raising yea.

6th. Another Cox-instructed delegate moves that the Executive Committee be empowered to fill all vacancies.

7th. Adjourn to Wielert's saloon.

Such a convention as this is smooth and business-like. It has occupied not to exceed an hour, and stands in strong contrast to the convention of earlier days that not infrequently lasted through the entire day and night. Its dispatch is a decided improvement upon the Cox conventions of the early nineties. At that time, the chairmen of the delegates were given slips which indicated they were to split their vote, for two or three ballots among several candidates. Always, however, arriving on the third or fourth ballot, on a unanimous choice. This was done to give the appearance of contest, and it fooled a great many people. Now, however, Cox is so sure of his power that he feels no necessity of wasting time on such make-shifts. He presents one nomination for each office, and they all vote for it.

The campaign, as carried on by Cox, is not a spectacular affair. Having all the city job holders to draw from, there is no public cry for money. He assesses each employee two and one-half per cent of his yearly salary, and each incoming office-holder ten per cent of his first year's salary, and others still higher, according to the perquisites of the office. Even the federal office-holders must pay their allotted proportion. Woe be unto the man who refuses or even neglects to respond promptly to this demand. The business man is by no means overlooked, but must contribute according to the patronage given him or favors shown. Cox collects in this way over one hundred thousand dollars. This would carry on a whirlwind campaign, but his methods are not of that kind and require comparatively little money. Every city employee, and even some of the federal office-holders, are put to work molding opinion in their respective precincts, treating some, cajoling others, threatening many, recalling favors to those whose memory is short. All of these men must report frequently how feeling is running. It is not mass work, but on individuals. An acquaintance of mine was sent for by Cox with a request to come to his office. His reply was, "tell Cox to come to me if he wants to see me." Again Cox sent his messenger back with a request for him to come. This time, out of curiosity, he went. Upon entering Cox's office, Cox called him by name, though never having met him before. "Your neighbor, Mr. A——, is going to bolt, I understand." "I do n't think so, I have n't heard him express such an opinion." "Well, I am informed by the executive out there that such is the fact. Now I want

you to see him and straighten him out. 'Try it.' Not infrequently, fully a half dozen friends or acquaintances are sent to a man to argue him into voting right. All this minute work is possible because each precinct worker and his assistants know every man in his small district and every man is questioned by various persons to find his opinion. Knowing every organization to which a man belongs, they can bring pressure to bear upon him through a variety of avenues. There is probably not an organization in the city, secret or otherwise, but that Cox has some of his workers in it as members. Even in such a society as the Junior Order, which is avowedly opposed to Cox and his methods, has some members that are constantly trying to secure indorsement for Cox candidates.

As an aid in his campaigns, Cox has all the daily papers except the *Post*. The *Enquirer* is supposed to be Democratic, but remains silent on local issues. He makes sure of the German papers by having some of his supporters on either their board or staff. This gives sufficient publicity. Little besides does he attempt in the way of printer's ink. Billboards are seldom used by him and circulars quite as infrequently. Local ward candidates in large measure provide their own announcement cards, invariably containing their picture, and they sometimes use the mail for distribution of other material. In general, however, Cox depends upon his workers seeing and personally talking with every person whose intentions are at all subject to question. Hand-picked fruit evidently is his aim.

Before the first registration day every precinct worker receives from headquarters a poll book containing the names of every voter in his district. This

is almost a needless formality, as such a worker knows practically every resident at least by name. It is his business to see that those of Cox proclivities register early, on the first day, if it is possible to get them out. Should one fail to appear, he will receive a postal card reminding him of the fact that he has neglected to register, and the date of the next registration. Should he fail to appear at this next opportunity, he will receive another card and quite likely a personal call urging him not to neglect his sacred obligation to the party. On the day of the last registration the workers are about as busy as on election day, hurrying here and there, pulling men away from their jobs or out of their offices, and escorting them to the place of registration. No possible supporter of Cox by any chance is permitted to forget that he must register in order to vote. In close elections, a larger amount of illegal registering is done. Names are kept on the register year after year, solely for the purpose of being supplied with an individual to represent it. Any man they choose may assume the fictitious name. Year after year, large numbers are brought from Covington and Newport and registered as residents of Cincinnati. Mike Mullen and Bob O'Brien have the banner wards for false registration. In Mike's district is the Silver Moon, a lodging house of the lowest type, harboring both white and black. The negroes, for the most part, work on the river and are out of the city a large part of the time. They call the Silver Moon their home, and at registration time they are supposed to come back to qualify for election. No one, not even Mike himself, knows whether they do come back, nor does he care. He has on his list a

certain number of negroes; all that he needs to do is to send over to Covington or elsewhere in the city and have a sufficient number come to do the registering. On election day it takes more negroes than the local market supplies, so Mike usually ships in a few cargoes from the various river towns.

Bob O'Brien operates in much the same way, but he deals chiefly with white men. Lodging houses in his district do an enormous business about election time. They come from goodness knows where, and swear they have been out of the city at some job and have returned to Lodge or Gano Alley, which is their permanent home. These rooming-house keepers are bribed to say that the ten to twenty men registered from their house are really there. Their names, however, can not be found in the directory, and a registered letter can not be delivered to any one of them, since the names are only fictitious.

The Board of Elections appoints all election officers. No criticism can be passed for their appointments in the hilltop wards; but in regard to some of the appointments in the bottoms, there is abundant ground for belief that a good portion of the so-called Democrats are Cox sympathizers. This is a great aid in illegal voting.

Long before the polls open on election morning, the job holders are at their post covering every approach to the polling place. Not a man can go to vote without being accosted from one to several times by the various workers. There are never less than from four to six, so no man can escape. Every registered name is on a small card. As the man votes, this card is put aside. In this way they always know

just the tardy ones and make every effort to get them to the polls.

Vote buying is done chiefly in the bottoms, but not solely so. Even in Avondale coachmen and negroes are "paid for their time." It is indeed hard to understand how a young man from a good family—a church worker, of legal training—can deceive himself into believing he is not bribing the voter when he pays him for his time which he takes to come and vote. Yet this was done by one of the well known young men of Avondale. In the downtown districts they need no such sophistry. The Judas simply stands in an alley, and when the voter comes, vouched for by a worker, he pays him the current price for votes. In Mike's ward the paying was usually done at the bar of a saloon—the Silver Moon. Each man as he voted was given a small slip of paper; by presenting this at the bar he received a half dollar, or whatever the market of the day demanded. In the Ingalls campaign, Mike evidently looked with disfavor upon this method, so established a headquarters right opposite the polling place, in which he paid off his voters. Helping him in this nefarious business was Louis J. Huwe, deputy United States marshal. Not infrequently, the United States marshal, himself, Vivian Fagin, is an active participant on election day.

Compared to the old method, before the registration law came into force, there is little chance to juggle the count at election. It is done to some extent, however. In one precinct, where one of our witnesses was located, the judge had separated the tickets into piles of straight and marked Republican and Democratic. Our witness, suspecting there were some

marked tickets among the so-called straight ones, reached over and began to examine the pile. Among the first ten he discovered four scratched ballots. At this juncture, the Republican judge discovered what he was doing, grabbed the tickets from his hand and thrust them into the stove with the remark, "Record three hundred and twenty-seven straight Republican ballots," and it was done.

It is impossible to estimate, with any exactness, the extent of illegal voting. Judging from my knowledge of it, in one section of the city, I should place the illegal votes at from three to five thousand. In addition to these votes, there are several thousand disreputable Democrats who can be, and are controlled, in times of especial emergency. They vote for Cox as readily as for their own party, if told to do so. These two elements, combined with the job holders and their friends, make an almost unshakable majority.

The conduct of the city and county offices is an interesting part of the Cox machine. Council is at present composed of twenty-four members from the wards, and five at large; two of this number are Democrats. A typical Council procedure is conducted about as follows:

Roll call.

Motion to dispense with the minutes.

Mike Mullen introduces an ordinance to pave Boodle Street.

Motion by Bauer that it be referred to the Committee on Streets, with instruction to report to-night. Ordinance is passed to the different members of the committee as they sit in their seats. They sign and pass it along.

It comes up for second reading by title.

Motion to pass to third reading by title and roll call.

President Harry Gordon then signs it before the roll is called or the vote ascertained.

No remarks during the passage of this or any other ordinance.

Mike Mullen is lieutenant of Cox in Council. If Mike makes no remarks on a motion, all vote yea. Should Mike rise and say, "I trust the resolution or ordinance will not pass," all vote no. A dissenting vote one way or the other is such a seldom occurrence that when one is made it is a current topic of conversation about City Hall the following day.

On April 3, 1905, an attempt was made to pass an ordinance giving the police the right to destroy gambling devices. To the surprise of all, there were three nay votes. When Bauer was asked why he voted against the ordinance, he replied, "I was put in here by the saloon and sporting elements. I am going to protect their interests. I am for an open town."

The general make-up of Council may be judged by its twice having transferred its meeting night to another night of the week so as to attend a prize fight in which the son of Mike Mullen was one of the contestants.

In former days there were combinations in the Council that had to be dealt with. When any boodling was done, each of these members had to be "seen." Now, however, no one, attempting to work a measure through, ever thinks of consulting the individual councilmen. But one man is to be seen, Cox. If it is a minor measure, Herrmann can say the word. Money

is constantly paid for measures and grants, but little of it goes lower down than Mullen. He is the last one with whom it is divided. How, you ask, can the rest of the councilmen be kept in line when they know what the leaders are getting, and there is not even a core left for them? This is a question hard to answer. Each councilman gets some favors. In the first place, his salary is one thousand and forty dollars a year. Besides, he is likely to be in some business where favors can be granted him, as for instance, Bauer, O'Brien, Schweninger, Keenan, and Scheuler are given protection for their gambling houses. Some keep saloons and go unmolested, though keeping open all day Sunday. Others get rake offs on contracts given in their wards. A few are rewarded by being representatives of the railroads. In general, however, it is intimidation, rather than plunder, that keeps them in line.

The Board of Public Service is the administrative Board for the city. It is composed of at least negatively honest men. I use the word negatively, because if they were positively honest, they would see things and stir up such a hornet's nest as would make the seeker for new sensations shout with joy. The real head of the Board is Herrmann, who sits in his Water Works Commission office and pulls the strings. He drafts measures and makes nominations which the clerk presents to the Board, and they, with full knowledge of where they came from, pass them with little or no comment. Some matters are discussed at some length, but in the end they are always decided as Cox wishes. They have in charge the public institutions, some of which are in dire need of an examination, but

the Board does not see the necessity. The House of Refuge, one of the best managed public institutions in United States, sooner or later is to be moved to the country, which is wise, but I should like to record a prophecy here, that it will be placed on a farm owned by a county commissioner, Charles Richardson, a place he has bought apparently for just such a purpose. When this measure comes before the Board they will pass it, knowing well the connecting links.

The Water Works is Cox's arsenal. His cry for years has been "low taxes," a "reduction in taxes." Were this literally true, he would be cutting off funds with which to employ workers. This difficulty is obviated by having the Water Works run on a toll basis. Each man pays for his own water privileges. It is not included in the taxes, yet every man has to pay it. This toll is kept very much higher than necessary, in order to maintain an army of workers. This fact may be seen most clearly in a comparison with some other cities.

Cleveland pumps 62,010,510 gallons daily; Buffalo, 116,810,392; and Cincinnati, 45,677,958. This water in each of the cities goes through one main pumping station. The labor expense of these three stations should not be far different. Naturally we should expect Buffalo to have the largest bill, Cleveland next, and Cincinnati the least. The actual expenditures are these: Cleveland, \$46,912.21; Buffalo, \$71,848.00; and Cincinnati, that pumps one-third as much, pays \$150,967.95.

Quite as interesting a comparison is found in the office and meter departments. Cleveland makes out on an average, 40,000 bills per month and cares for 30,000

meters. Cincinnati issues 10,000 bills monthly and has but 4,000 meters to look after, yet Cleveland spends but \$278.50 daily for her office and meter force, while Cincinnati uses \$346.00 daily. These extra expenditures go not for needed men, but to pay political workers.

The Police Court is a prolific source of favoritism. The request of any councilman or ward boss to have a man released who is before the court, is seldom ignored. Such a favor makes a lasting adherent of the man and he becomes a helper for the gang. Occasionally the court becomes a law unto itself. United States Marshal Vivian Fagin has the reputation of a bully and a thug in his own neighborhood on Mt. Adams. One day he struck in the face one of our leading citizens, for no other offense than that he occupied a place upon the inclined plane truck that Fagin wanted. A warrant was asked for at the Police Court for his arrest, but the clerk assumed to prejudge the case and refused the warrant. Nothing was done. Nothing could be done when the courts were all against that aggrieved citizen.

Every judge of the higher courts must seek his nomination at the hands of Cox. Though he demands no definite pledge of the candidate, yet it seldom happens that a case involving Cox is judged to his detriment. The County Prosecutor falls back upon a convenient custom of his office, not to initiate cases, taking only those that come to him through the lower courts. It is, indeed, a convenient ruling, and adapted to guard the law breakers that the gang wishes to protect.

Some time ago the clerk of the Board of Educa-

tion defaulted for over a hundred thousand dollars. The theft was not revealed until after his death. Cox was one of his bondsmen. A case was brought against these bondsmen, and the court excused them because the Board of Education had illegally ordered that certain moneys pass through the clerk's hands—a ruling possibly technically correct, yet no attempt was made to push the matter in any other direction. Three other men, Brown, Whetstone, and Schmidt, defaulted in public office. A resolution was introduced into Council to have that body call the bondsmen to account. In the Law Committee, the resolution was buried, never to be exhumed. No attempt was made on the part of any city official to secure the bond money. Cox was on one of the bonds.

Juries in the Common Pleas Court are evidently made up largely of lounging professional jurymen. By following their vote in past cases it is easy to see that influence guides their opinions. One such jurymen was challenged off the jury by a lawyer, several times. Finally he came to the lawyer and said, "Mr. ———, let me stay on your cases and I will always decide in your favor. You have a good many cases." This situation is acknowledged by all the practicing lawyers, yet there is a semblance of an excuse found, in that so many of our decent citizens refuse to sit on the jury. It is hardly likely, however, that loungers need be chosen.

In the fall of 1904 evidence was collected against one of the city councilmen for running a gambling game. It was deemed unwise to apply to the Police Court for a warrant, since in all probability, when he came before Judge Leuders, his case would be put on

the open docket, which, in practice, means dismissal, a thing which the judge had done in other such cases. Squire Matteson, a magistrate living out of the city, was applied to for a warrant. He refused to issue one, saying, "I can't afford to get in bad with the gang. I am a lawyer and have to practice before these courts, and you know how they are conducted. I can't issue the warrant." He was surprisingly frank in this refusal and helped to confirm the general opinion about the courts.

Cox permits the sporting element to have full sway. Dan Bauer, a councilman, is associated with Louis Kraft, a former partner of Cox in the saloon and gambling business. They run two big gambling houses every night in the year and are never molested. Recently an ordinance was introduced into Council proposing one of our city parks be named from Bauer. This situation, however, is no exception, as four other councilmen have places of less sumptuousness, yet no less harmful, for they permit boys to gamble. Upper Vine Street is lined with gambling games, open to any one who wishes to enter. There is no attempt to restrict prostitution, other than a weekly examination of prostitutes, for which they pay fifty cents. In case they avoid the inspectors they are arrested for loitering, brought into Police Court and asked for their license. If they have none, they are severely warned to secure one forthwith or the next time be sent to the workhouse. A great many first offenders are, no doubt, in this way, stamped as prostitutes, and afterwards live up to their official reputation.

The evil effect of gang rule is perhaps most noticeable upon the public schools. In the seventies the

Cincinnati public schools had the reputation of being among the best in the United States. To-day they are unquestionably the poorest of any of our large cities. The cause of the decline is clear. Cox makes his campaign cry low taxes. In order to make them low, he cuts down the departments which yield the least plunder. Since the school funds go chiefly to the teachers, there is little opportunity for graft. Consequently they must receive as little as will run them. They have for years been given less than half the amount apportioned by other cities of Ohio for school purposes. As a result, the teachers have far too many pupils; there is scarcely any equipment; the buildings are very dilapidated and illy kept; no towels, no soap, and few drinking cups; in several places no sewer connection for toilets. These are some of the environments of the children. All because a Boss rules the city who has no education, and can appreciate none for others.

The Health Department also feels the effect of the Boss. The city is divided into districts, with a physician in each to care for the needs of the poor. This physician, in most cases, is appointed at the behest of the ward boss, because of his political influence, with little regard for his knowledge. My experience with some of these physicians has been anything but pleasant. In my work in the Union Bethel I knew the needs of the poor. Many times when the District Physician was sent for he would not come, but sent some medicine by a child who had acted as messenger. Time and again poor people have been charged for the physician's calls, when he was paid by the city for his services.

The Health Department is supposed to inspect dairies and the milk. When Dr. Hagen, the milk inspector, was asked by a member of the Board of Public Service to go with him to a certain dairy, the inspector did not know its location.

Tenement houses that are unfit for human beings are not condemned, though the attention of the department has been repeatedly called to them. In one case with which I was connected, the mother died of consumption. I asked the Health Department to fumigate the apartments. It was not done. Since then, the husband and three small children have been taken to the Branch Hospital for Consumptives. Such cases are not infrequent.

This, in brief, indicates some of the more glaring effects of the Boss system. Public affairs and institutions are run just good enough so the people will endure them. Spasmodic reforms are flashed occasionally, as raids on gambling houses, but only to appease the temporary wrath of the people. It is understood at the time that it is a grand-stand play. It works. The unfortunate part is that the people are deceived by such a show of reform ardor. They settle back into their indifferentism with the remark that the city government is really going to do something. There is no set of men who know the temper and psychology of the people, as well as do the gangsters. They study them and play upon them with the success of a foot-light actor.

CHAPTER VI.

METHODS USED TO RETAIN POWER.

A GOOD general not only knows how to organize an army and to plan and execute a campaign, but it is fully as important that he know how to inspire his men so that they fight with enthusiasm and always remain loyal under the most trying circumstances. In the recent fighting about Mukden, Oyama's men went for several days without food, and not only did not complain, but fought with desperation. It is reported also that Oyama secretly conveyed within the Russian line news of the fall of Port Arthur and the revolution which was taking place in the Russian home land, in order to discourage the soldiers of Kuropatkin. He realized well that good marksmanship and endurance are not the only qualities of a good soldier. He must have devotion to the cause and a loyalty that will sacrifice all.

Cox is quite as skillful in handling the people at large as he is his own machine. They must be kept loyal to something. He realizes that it can not be chiefly to himself, as he came from a rank and business that does not call forth admiration. Consequently he ever keeps before the people the "party," "the grand old party." If nothing but assessors and some ward councilmen are to be elected, he makes it appear that the election has a most vital bearing upon national

issues. To vote otherwise than straight is to prove oneself a traitor.

There are some who are not moved by these lofty appeals; such must be cajoled in other ways. One cry he has always found to be effective, "Low taxes," "Taxes reduced." This touches the German because he is largely a home owner. It takes no small amount of ingenuity to have a continuously decreasing tax rate when the yearly expenses of the city are ever increasing. Several schemes are resorted to, to accomplish this miracle. The first obvious one is to increase the duplicate. In 1901 the Board of Equalization added \$21,000,000 to the duplicate. By this addition the tax rate could be slightly reduced and yet raise fully \$450,000 more than previous years. In 1904 State laws were passed levying upon foreign corporations, which reduced the direct tax. Taking advantage of this, Cox announced a further reduction of the rate, owing to the economy of his administration. The method most employed, however, is to issue bonds whose payment will be distributed over years to come, when perchance he will be out of power, and the burden will fall upon some reform party. No doubt he figures that the people will complain because the taxes are growing heavier under a reform administration and will long for the good old days of Cox rule. Thus he will get back into power. Bonds are issued for current expenses in many instances. Such was the case in the issue of Park, Hospital, Street repair bonds. Even some of the repairs on the water works, with its ample income, were defrayed by bonds. Such are the methods of deceiving the people into believing that great economy is being practiced.

The granting of favors is a most potent method of insuring loyalty on the part of a large number of people. Having absolute control of all departments of the city and county government, it is easy to grant favors to select ones. Tax assessments can be lowered, back taxes can be allowed to accrue, water pipes or sewers may be extended to a chosen few, or electric lights placed in front of residences or places of business. When I was in charge of the Union Bethel, a social settlement, the lights in the vicinity were very inadequate. I made application for additional ones. Immediately more were placed along the street than I had asked for, and when finished, the city electrician called at my office and asked if they suited me. At the election, not long afterwards, the local councilman, Mike Mullen, took the pains again to ask me if I was suited with the lighting, evidently implying he had done me a personal favor, and in his mind I was an ingrate because I was interfering with his buying of votes.

Many a business man is kept in line by allowing him to keep his sidewalk piled full of merchandise. Occasionally a troublesome opponent of great importance is won over by a big favor, as was Chas. P. Taft, editor of the *Times-Star*. He was given city advertising, and sent to Congress.

The Police Court is subject to the order of ward bosses, or councilmen. It is the common practice for many offenders, when they get into trouble, to go to the ward councilman, who gets his release at court, or allows him to be sent to the workhouse and then secures his liberty.

We had a club of young men at the settlement.

Some of them were constantly stealing. One night they held up a man on the streets and nearly brained him with a club. I caught them in the act of breaking open our money drawer. After giving them a sound talking to, I agreed not to prosecute them if they would promise to behave. Within two weeks they were caught in the act of stealing about seventy-five dollars' worth of brass. While out on bail the city election occurred. These boys were standing on the street corner watching our councilman paying the voters for their votes. After election this councilman, Mike Mullen, interceded at the Police Court and the boys were released, though there was no question that for their own good they should have been sent to the Reform Farm. These boys, of course, will vote as Mike wants them to.

When Chas. F. Malsbury was appointed to the Probate Court bench by Cox the lawyers about town said, "Well, I guess he is honest." I presume he is. But he appoints the organization leaders as executors of estates against the recommendation and strong protest of the immediate heirs.

Two ways the workhouse is largely emptied just before election, by the police judge, Leuders, sentencing them with terms which expire at just the right time, and by the Pardoning Committee releasing such as have not committed a too serious offense and are tractable.

Another way of influencing votes is to have the job holders join some of the secret organizations. A large percentage of the higher officials of the city are either Masons or Elks. Garry Herrmann was Exalted Ruler of the Elks, and now Frank H. Kirchner,

one of the most prominent city contractors, has taken Herrmann's place. Auditor Lewis is a prominent man in the Shriners. My attention repeatedly has been called to the number of men holding day-wage jobs who are going into some of the fraternal organizations. Such connections, of course, extends their range of acquaintances and list of friends.

The sporting element are catered to by giving full sway to their games. At the Oakley tracks book-makers operate openly with no fear of molestation. Saloons make no pretense of closing on Sunday or at midnight. Sometimes it is amusing to hear the hub-bub in a saloon on Sunday suddenly cease when they hear an officer's club thud on the pavement as a warning of his approach. The negroes of Public Landing are treated with great leniency about election time. On one occasion, just before election, several automobiles and carriages stopped in front of one of the most disreputable negro joints on Front Street, and some of the highest officials of the city alighted and went in to witness a negro cake-walk with other variety features. These negroes will vote for those in authority, of course they will.

A very definite effort is made by Cox to keep the churches in line. It is told of one of the leading divines of the city, not now a resident, that seeing his extended power, due to having missions in various parts of the city, Cox sent for him and asked if he would not do him the favor to call at his office. He did so, and this conversation is reported to have taken place: "I have noticed, with great pleasure, Mr. —, the success of your work throughout the city. You are doing much good. I wish I were able to express

my appreciation by showing some favor to your church. Possibly some one or two of your leading men would like some high city office. If you care to suggest any names I shall be glad to use my influence to secure a nomination to such a position."

Rev. ——— fell into the trap, suggested a man who was subsequently elected, and the minister's voice was stilled. Such direct efforts on the part of Cox are no doubt few, but, without question, he seeks to get one or more prominent men from all the leading churches into public office. He is sure to chose men who are meek and long suffering, men who would not wilfully do wrong themselves, yet are so desirous of holding a position with its accompanying pay, that they close their eyes to many things which they should condemn. This securing of such men gives Cox's administration a tone which convinces the average citizen that all is well. Robert Allison, now dead, formerly a member of the Board of Public Service, was evidently very much troubled by things he was forced to acquiesce in. He said to a friend not long before his death, in speaking of conditions on the inside, "It is vile, simply vile." A young man, whose name I am not at liberty to quote, left a position he had held at the City Hall for several years. He said to me, "I never would have believed things could occur that are occurring there. I was in a position to know. I could not stay there and be a party to such things."

This element of respectability which Cox has been adroit enough to enlist is the most dangerous feature of his administration. People are led to believe that all is running honestly because Mr. So and So, good church member, is in office. When, perchance, this

very man is employing many men who spend only time enough in his office to draw their pay. This church member would not steal, yet he pays out the city's money to men who render little or no return for this money. Or he votes to let contracts that he knows are exorbitantly high. He makes himself a party to Cox's machine plans.

One of the most effective ways of conferring favors is by a low tax valuation on a holder's property. The most marked example of this is the public corporations. Eugene Lewis, as county auditor, made a remitter to the Gas Company of \$404,734. The company pays dividends on a valuation of about \$28,000,000, which indicates its market value. Yet it pays taxes on only \$2,500,000.

A comparison of the relative tax valuation and the market value of the Gas Company's property for several years is interesting.

	Total Tax Valuation.	Capital Stock.	Market Value of Stock.
1898. . .	\$2,669,040	\$8,500,000	\$17,000,000
1899. . .	2,198,380	9,000,000	18,000,000
1900. . .	2,078,590	9,000,000	18,000,000
1901. . .	2,021,590	9,500,000	19,000,000

It will be observed that as the market value rose the tax valuation decreased. In 1898 the market value of the stock was \$17,000,000, and the duplicate \$2,669,040. In 1901 the market value had risen to \$19,000,000, but the return for taxes was only \$2,021,590. There is but one explanation for this, favoritism by the gang.

The Traction Company is paying to the old Cincinnati Street Railway Company a six per cent annual rental on \$18,036,950. The market value of the stock is over \$23,000,000. Yet the company is paying taxes on only \$2,600,000. To the company Auditor Lewis gave a remitter of \$283,975 dollars because he considered the tax valuation was too high. As an illustration of comparative assessed values, in Columbus, street car tracks are assessed at \$21,150 per mile; in Cincinnati, \$3,000. Cars in Columbus are entered at \$2,920; in Cincinnati at \$593.

In Hamilton County is an officer called the Tax Inquisitor. The function of this officer is to ascertain whether all property has been entered for taxation. He is rewarded for his efforts by receiving 25 per cent of the taxes thus collected on discovered property. It is easy to see how he could be blind where blindness would confer a favor on the proper person. Or he could threaten to see and then suddenly become blind. The law in Ohio requires that when a will is probated the listed property shall be sent to the auditor to compare with his records. It has been the custom for the auditor to overlook this duty and to turn the lists over to the tax inquisitor who collects the taxes and retains 25 per cent. It is evident that somebody, I repeat somebody, gets a rich return from the tax inquisitor's office.

These systematic machine favors are, of course, greatly supplemented by the kindness done by individual ward captains and councilmen. Such personal attention counts for the good of the whole machine and helps to keep the people in line.

I have often thought of Cox and his subjects as I

have watched drovers taking cattle from the Public Landing through the streets to the stock yards. Not infrequently an ingenious individual will be driving a herd of hogs and leading a flock of sheep. He knows quite well which to drive and which to lead. Some men Cox leads with favors; others he drives with threats. He may raise their taxes, water rents, take away from them public business, or sidewalk privileges. During the Ingalls' campaign a friend of mine who owns and manages a laundry, had declared his intention to vote for Ingalls. Several men were sent to him to win him back. Their arguments were futile. Then they tried what they supposed would be a moving argument. The inspector of elevators was sent around. On a brief examination of the elevator he said, "You need a new cable to your elevator." "But," replied my friend, "that one is nearly new." "I tell you you must have a new cable." "What will a new one cost?" "I do n't know, that's none of my affair." "Well, then, what will it cost not to have a new one?" "O, well, that's up to you." My friend replied, "Let me tell you, Mr. Inspector, if I have to, I will get a new cable, but you will get nothing out of it." That's what it cost him to vote as he chose.

A horseshoer who ran a large establishment was a candidate on the Citizens' ticket. He was warned repeatedly that his business would suffer if he opposed the gang. He persisted in doing as he thought best. As a result, several firms, using many horses, withdrew their patronage from him.

One man who had been especially active against the gang and was defeating their men was threatened in various ways. He was superintendent of a factory,

and the owner came to him and told him he must stop his political work or leave his position. He instantly said he would resign his place rather than be dictated to by the gang. Finding this did not work, they raised his taxes exorbitantly. At present his valuation is five times as high as his neighbors, and word has been sent to him if he will see the right party and make certain promises, the tax valuation will be reduced. He prefers to pay the robbers' price.

I approached a large iron manufacturer to get his support for the Citizens' movement. He said his sympathies were with us, but that he was a partisan and could not openly support the cause. As I came out of his establishment I noticed the sidewalk and about half of the street was filled with his product for fully a square. Such blocking of the public way was illegal. Did he fear that he would be deprived of his privileges if he opposed the gang? I have little doubt of it.

This fear extends equally to the workman in the shops, as he is made to understand, in many instances, that his job depends upon his support of the gang. The small property owner is especially solicitous lest the wrath of the gang descend upon him. It is absolutely in the hands of Cox to say what the valuation of any piece of property shall be. Hundreds of instances could be cited where a small property is valued for more than it can be sold for.

Whether Cox has a spy system or not I can not say. This, at any rate, is true, that scarcely a chance remark can be uttered anywhere in public but that it gets to Cox, if it is of interest to him. This could be true without a spy system, as there are so many who wish to court favor that they lose no opportunity of carrying some frankincense of knowledge to him.

During the Ingalls' campaign I was at the Union Bethel and gave some attention toward reducing the number of illegal registrations. This was soon reported and my every move was watched. Soon after the election a friend invited me to his office and said he was sorry I was manifesting any activity in a political line, since I was almost sure to lose the support of at least one large giver to our work. This attempted intimidation had the opposite effect on me. It angered me to think that my friend had so low an opinion of me as to suppose I would be bought off by a contribution to the work I had in hand.

Lincoln Stephens said the Cincinnati business men were the most craven he had met in any of our cities. This is undoubtedly true. The chief difficulty in prosecuting any reform work is that few of our men have the courage to come out in the open in opposition to Cox. They are fearful that he can and will injure their business in some way. He has used such tactics so much there is some ground for their apprehension, but the danger is unquestionably exaggerated. His supposed power has become a bugaboo to scare grown-up business men. It works no doubt about that. I have approached men to induce them to take a part in the independent movement, and they hesitatingly excused themselves because of a possible business injury, when, in fact, their money was entirely invested outside of Cincinnati, and in such a form that the local power of Cox could in no way affect it. But then "the bad man" appears to those who believe in "the bad man," and the belief being widespread, there is a general "an' the goblins-an'-git-you-ef-you do n't-watch-out" feeling which terrifies the business community.

By becoming respectable himself, Cox thinks to hold a circle of business men in line. In 1903 he bought the controlling interest in the Cincinnati Trust Company, then elected himself president. This, of course, was a great advantage to him financially, since he could have the county money to use without interest, could finance certain undertakings in which he was interested, and could get as depositors a large portion of the city employes. Thinking that his power would be effective on the school teachers, he addressed to them the following letter:

"Cincinnati, O., Dec. 12, 1903.

DEAR MADAM,—You doubtless know that I have associated myself with the Cincinnati Trust Company, in the capacity of president.

"I am desirous that our institution may prosper, and extend its usefulness to all my friends, who may be willing to co-operate by transacting such of their business with this company, as may be mutually profitable and agreeable.

"This bank has ample capital and surplus, which, taken together with our management in the hands of a strong Board of Directors, places it in the front rank as a safe place in which to transact your business. In point of convenience, its location is unexcelled, being on the ground floor at the southwest corner of Fourth and Walnut Streets, with branch offices located at 910 McMillan Street near Peebles Corner; 2471 Eastern Avenue; Masonic Building, Cumminsville; Eighth Street and Freeman Avenue; and Williams Street, Lockland, Ohio.

"It offers to the public its services as a bank in

which to deposit money as a savings account, earning 3 per cent interest, or as a commercial account on which interest is allowed at the rate of 2 per cent. It also acts in all trust capacities authorized by law.

"Our safety deposit vault is the strongest and most conveniently located one in the city, and our box rent is low.

"I will be greatly pleased to have your business and support, and to have you call on me at the bank.

"Very truly yours,

"GEO. B. COX, *President.*"

How many teachers responded to this I am unable to say. It is unlikely any would be discharged for not depositing with him, yet should a question as to their tenure arise, the fact that they stood in with Cox would be the strongest kind of a leverage. No doubt many saw this phase of the matter.

Soon after Cox became bank president he changed his lunching place from a saloon to the Glen Cairn, a quite respectable restaurant where several bank presidents eat. Not only that, but he located himself adjoining the bankers' table. Yet he does not cease to hold his matinees in front of the Mecca saloon or his evening sessions at Wielert's saloon. While trying to break into respectability, he realizes he must not divorce himself from his chief supporters, the saloons and sporting elements.

In no way is Cox's power more manifest than in his ability to demoralize the Democratic organization. Probably this could not have been done so easily or thoroughly had it not been for the selfish and treacherous leader, John R. McLean. McLean is a hard

fighter, when he thinks there is to be any gain for him personally. When this does not seem probable, he is perfectly indifferent as to Democratic success. One thing, however, he is always careful to do, and that is, to use enough money to keep control of the Democratic organization. Though he will spend no money on a campaign, yet when it comes to the election of ward executives he will forward to Lewis Bernard, his lieutenant, sufficient funds to swing enough wards to insure a majority in the Central Committee. This traitorous attitude of McLean's has discouraged a host of Democrats, some of whom sold out, others stay away from the polls; still others have taken jobs offered by Cox.

The first noted deserter from the Democratic ranks was Mike Mullen. His ward had been a Gibraltar of Democratic strength. It was most interesting to see how Mike turned this Democratic over into a Republican majority. The Front Street pumping station was in the ward adjoining his. The patronage of this he demanded. Of the ninety to a hundred men which it employed, the majority were formerly Republican. As Mike could find an excuse to dispose of the old men he put in his Democratic friends. Besides he saw to it that the Democratic election officers in the several precincts were men he could trust to "keep right on saying nothing." The ward now is stronger Republican than it was formerly Democratic.

Cox secured a valuable adherent in Mike. He knows how to handle men and has considerable executive ability. To him Cox looks to direct all Council legislation; and to keep out of Council things unseemly for the gang. He does it splendidly.

The next most strategic move was to keep the Fusion Board of Public Affairs constantly in a deadlock. Garry Herrmann watched the Board with an eagle eye. By having one of his own men vote with the reliable fusion members a tie vote would always result. By using this deadlock Cox was enabled to practically dictate the appointments of the Board, which soon put into jobs a host of his men.

Ellis G. Kinkead was city solicitor elected by the Fusionists. He was a Republican, but was supposed to be stalwart and anti-gang to the back bone. He appointed as his assistant Wade H. Ellis, a Democrat. By some hook or crook, within two months after the election, these two men were working in behalf of the Cox gang. This gave Cox control of the legal department of the city, which was a great advantage.

Cox has been systematically picking out the strongest Democratic workers and giving them city jobs. They are told that there is no hope in the Democratic ranks, which seems true, and are advised to join the Blaine Club, which is the initial step for any job. This done they are in line. As a result of this process it is claimed that nearly a majority of the Blaine Club were formerly Democrats. Lewis Bernard, the Democratic leader, says he is going to wait a while longer until the Blaine Club gets a few more Democrats, then he is going to have himself elected president and run it as a Democratic club.

Among the present Republican councilmen who were formerly Democrats, are Mullen, O'Brien, Kehan, Keenan, and Felsberg. Squire Templeton, U. S. Revenue Collector Bettman were also Democrats.

To give a full list of the deserters would make this book look like a city directory.

To sum up this chapter, Cox's ability to maintain power lies in his producing a fairly satisfactory government with good police protection; in conferring many favors; in threatening those of a timid nature; and in demoralizing the Democratic party.

**"I am the Boss of Cincinnati.
I never dodged that statement in
my life. I've got the best system
of government in this country. If
I did n't think my system was the
best I would consider that I was
a failure in life."**

**Interview with Geo. B. Cox, June 23, 1905,
printed in the Cincinnati Post.**

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